

T H E
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1788.

The VISITANT.

(Continued from page 320.)

No. VI. *On modesty, bashfulness, diffidence, and the contrary qualities.*

WHY do we dislike the man who expects from us too great a regard to his own merit? I think the answer is obvious, because, by preferring himself, he undervalues us; self-love immediately takes the alarm, and refuses his demand. Forwardness is like a painter, who would point out to us the beauties of his own performance; but we choose rather to discover them ourselves, that our admiration may seem to arise from our own discernment. The opposite quality to this is modesty, a term that bears sometimes a very vague signification; which is owing, in some measure, to this, that its appearance is frequently counterfeited by qualities of a different nature. The terms, modesty, bashfulness, and diffidence, are often used indiscriminately; it may not be amiss, therefore, to enquire into the origin, nature, and merit of the qualities to which they properly belong.

The duties of humility may be divided into two sorts; the first are those which forbid us to entertain too high an opinion of our own perfections; the others enjoin a proper sense of our failures and imperfections. Upon these branches of humility, are founded the two first of the abovementioned qualities. Modesty is that virtue which keeps us from expecting, as a right, the esteem and veneration which our good qualities seem to deserve: and it is evident that modesty must appear universally amiable, because goodwill and approbation are a tribute in our own power, and we choose to bestow them as we please. As modesty is founded on humility, so they are inseparably connected; we cannot form the idea of an humble

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man, without supposing him, at the same time, modest; nor of a modest man, without supposing him humble; for he, who has a proper sense of his own merits, will not challenge an undue esteem for them, and his not doing this is a sure evidence that he has a proper sense of them.

Bashfulness is that quality which discovers to men the sense we have of our own failures and imperfections. The vice directly opposed to it is impudence. The bashful man is ashamed of his faults; but the impudent man is not sensible of them. Bashfulness is frequently esteemed a foible; which may easily be accounted for, because it supposes some fault, without which it would not exist; but I choose rather to call it a virtue, for we are pleased to see men conscious of their defects, and this acknowledgment is the best apology they can make for them. Sometimes, however, we are sensible of all the appearances of bashfulness, without any fault in ourselves which can give rise to them. This proceeds from sympathy; we suppose ourselves in the situation of the person who occasions our confusion, and have the same sensations which we think he ought to feel.

I think modesty and bashfulness may be always known from each other by the distinction I have laid down, viz. that the latter produces in us the disagreeable idea of some defect which occasions it, and therefore gives us pain, although it is, at the same time, engaging; but the former gives us a pleasure, which is not attended with this disagreeable idea. And this leads me to observe, that our admiration of bashfulness extends no farther than to this single good quality; but we cannot admire modesty, without admiring, at the same time, those virtues from which it derives its value.

The other quality, which has passed for modesty, is diffidence; this is too

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weak a sense of any good quality we possess, and an insufficiency to call it forth to action. Diffidence is never to be allowed a virtue, but a weakness, because it suppresses a man's virtue, and hides it from the world, even when he has a mind to exert himself. A celebrated writer has observed, that "modesty is, to the other virtues in a man, what shade in a picture is to the parts of the thing represented; it makes all the other beauties appear conspicuous, which would otherwise appear but a wild heap of colours." But then it is necessary that this shade in our actions should be very justly applied; whereas diffidence renders it too strong.—In this case it hides our good qualities, instead of shewing them to advantage. The vice directly opposite to diffidence is presumption. They both occasion disagreeable sensations; but with this difference, that the uneasiness produced by the first, is in favour of the person for whom we feel it; but that which we receive from the other, is attended with a dislike of him who causes it. Modesty and confidence possess the medium of these two opposite extremes; the former being more allied to diffidence, and the latter to presumption; confidence may engage respect; but modesty adds to respect the more valuable acquisitions of love and esteem.

These qualities, which I have been examining, are frequently mistaken for one another, and hence it happens that such very different ideas are expressed by the word—modesty. If a man declines speaking his sentiments, in company, upon subjects which he is not acquainted with, it is ascribed to his great modesty; another confesses, by a blush, that he is at a loss how to acquit himself properly, and we immediately call him very modest; such a one (as it is said) would be very agreeable, if it were not for his modesty; and many a man loses every opportunity of pushing his fortune in life, because, forsooth, nature has made him extremely modest. No wonder, then, that in many cases, modesty is esteemed an indifferent and even unfortunate endowment; hence, people conclude that it is possible for a man to be too modest; and, to avoid that imputation, they frequently run into those vices which are the most remote from it.

I must request my fair readers in

particular, to make a proper distinction between modesty and those qualities which assume its appearance; because I have known many of their most humble devotees think themselves accomplished gallants, for no other reason but because they are not too modest. Flavia pities some shamefaced fellow because he is too modest—for (say she) it is a disadvantage to the young man. Belvidero concludes from this that modesty is a quality that will never recommend him to the fair sex; he gets rid, as fast as he can, of what little share nature has bestowed on him; he takes every opportunity of affronting virtuous women; and is pleased to find that he is not too modest, but admirably calculated to please the ladies. Favillo values himself because he excels in what he thinks constitutes a clever fellow; he drinks, he swears, he wenchs, and would not, for the world, that his mistress should think him deficient in any of these accomplishments, lest she should despise him for being too modest. A young fellow is taught, that, to qualify himself for the company of the fair sex, he should rub a little brags on his face, as the expression is, lest he should be laughed at as too modest. Now it is obvious, that many, judging too hastily from appearances, will be apt to conclude, that whatever pretensions may be made for form's sake—the ladies themselves are not too modest.

An entire indifference to the esteem and approbation of the world, has frequently assumed the appearance of that amiable quality I am speaking of. Modesty is a virtue, because it sheds a lustre on all the virtues of the mind; but this must needs be a vice, since it naturally tends to destroy them. The man who challenges our admiration, and he that shews himself indifferent to it, are offensive from the same principle, viz, that of self-love; the former affronts us by insisting on it as his right; the latter by thinking it not worth courting.

The universal sense of the world in favour of modesty, may appear from this reflexion; that when a man seems forward to discover the opinion he entertains of his own good qualities, they endeavour to observe in him some imperfections, and are always ready to place him in the most unfavourable light. On the other hand, we are ever

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attentive to the merit of a modest man, and take a pleasure in discovering those excellencies which he is not ambitious of exposing.—In doing this, we gratify our love of justice, which always operates strongly, unless where it is opposed by self-love or some other powerful principle.

Modesty stamps a value upon every good quality that a man can possess; on the other hand, suppose the same qualities to exist without this virtue, and they immediately lose all their value—nay, they are frequently changed into the most odious vices. How amiable is the practice of piety! But if you imagine it destitute of that modesty which vaunteth not itself, piety becomes hypocrisy, and, instead of a saint, you have a pharisee. Without modesty, the philosopher is a cynic, and the orator nothing but a vain babbler; or, if the precepts of the former, and eloquence of the latter, are not adorned by this virtue, they must at least appear to be so; they must sue for admittance into the mind, not demand it. Pride and obstinacy keep the door; and they may be courted, but not forced.

I am persuaded, that to cultivate modesty would be the most effectual method to improve the pleasures of society, by removing many impediments to useful and entertaining conversation. The opposite quality is founded on pride, and the genuine offspring of them both are arrogance and obstinacy—the most inveterate enemies to social intercourse. As the proud man has too high an opinion of himself, he will demand more respect than he really deserves; as he thinks too meanly of others, he will shew them less respect than they are entitled to. But as the modest man knows himself, and pays a due deference to other men, he will never set up his own good qualities as the object of his company's admiration, nor think his sentiments a standard for others; when he is contradicted, he is willing to discover his mistake, and if he is mistaken, to acknowledge it. The temper of the former shews itself in presumption to his superiors, in haughtiness to his equals, and in insolence to his inferiors; but the behaviour of the latter is adorned with the opposite qualities of submission, respect, and concession. In short, modesty recom-

mends us to all men, because it pleases all; and it cannot fail to please all, since in every instance it compliments their judgment. It is necessary every where, and at all times; nothing can excuse the want of it.—Without it even our good qualities become odious, and virtue is nothing but a name.

Modesty is reckoned more indispensably necessary in the fair part of our species, and its opposite qualities are in them much more conspicuous than in us. In a future paper I shall take occasion to consider the reason of this difference, and to infer from the principles I have laid down, some observations which should have an influence on their behaviour in life. L.

Philadelphia, March 7, 1768.

ATTICUS.

(Continued from page 318.)

No. V. Various characters.

THERE are many mistakes in deportment and conduct, among such of our acquaintance, as, on many accounts, we highly value, which it is not often easy to mention to the persons most immediately concerned therein; and yet such as we wish were more the subjects of their consideration; as I have assumed the task of giving, now and then, a little gentle admonition, it may not be amiss, to attempt to shew such features, as I have hinted at, in a kind of perspective to my readers; perhaps, they may see a likeness of something in themselves, which hath hitherto been overlooked, and which, to be amended, only requires a closer attention; but I guard against any applications to the grief or injury of any other persons. I dislike personal satire, and utterly abhor detraction; nor could any thing sooner make me throw away my pen, than to be made, or counted the vehicle of illwill or defamation. I endeavour to draw from human nature, attested, I acknowledge, by observations on a variety of mixed companies, and thro' a numerous acquaintance; but without intending any one character to represent any particular person, either living or dead: and these remarks, I beg my reader to carry with him, though my future papers, as well as the present.

Emilius is a man of established character, as to morals, and has many good qualities; yet in his conversation and business, he assumes an air of importance and self-sufficiency, that is a barrier against any intimacies even with such, as, on some occasions, he would be glad to place confidence in; so that though in his younger days, he made an acquaintance with a few persons who continue to shew him some regard, he knows nothing of the pleasures and benefits which arise from real friendship; and, as his present habit of behaviour forbids almost the approach of any new acquaintance, what will he do, if he outlives the present set? One would think the support which a man wants on so many emergencies in the decline of life, would be a sufficient inducement to Emilius, to be more affable in his manners, and more susceptible of trust in some fellow beings of his own sex, or of forming a more tender connexion with some worthy woman, where he might enjoy all the sweet intercourses of friendship, without suspicion of selfishness or danger of deception.

Tendrus is so much alive to the kindest sensations, that he embraces every acquaintance with the openness and warmth that is only due to tried friendship; hence he is often seen to take part with the unprincipled and worthless; he gives credit to the false and designing; he is deceived frequently by the cunning impostor, and when he perceives it, has understanding enough to determine to be more upon his guard; yet again and again, by specious pretences, the milkiness of his nature is imposed upon, and with abilities and a disposition which would endear Tendrus to the intimacy of the most worthy, he becomes the dupe of the sharper, and the companion of the debauched! How shall Tendrus learn more prudence and resolution? By examining into the characters of those who intrude upon his good nature, and push themselves into connexions which are so injurious to him: then enquire of his judicious friends, how they manage to keep such vermin at a proper distance; and resolve, however unpalatable, to take their prescriptions and advice.

How can the most niggardly disposi-

tion be reconciled with the love of ostentation? Ask Crito, who in his conversation pretends to greater tenderness for people in distress; will talk in raptures of the public spirited schemes of our hospital and the bettering-house, and praise, with seeming ardor, the goodness of any individual, who sends liberal assistance to the poor, when he casually hears of it: but if you look into the lists of public donations, you will not find Crito's name there; and if any opportunity offers of knowing his private conduct, he will be found to be wholly intent upon increasing his heap, and very careful not to part with any thing, unless a trifle may sometimes escape (when he is seen) to silence the voice of the clamorous beggar. If Crito would renounce either his covetousness, or his fondness for appearing to be what he is not, there might be room to hope for a cure of his other distempers: but while he retains both, what can be done to help him?

Timon, with a capacity, which, properly employed, would acquire the love and veneration of a large family, and an extensive circle of acquaintance, is despised at home, and dreaded abroad. He seems to wonder sometimes why it is so! It is because he is either ill-natured, or affects such behaviour as makes him counted so. Instead of associating dignity with ease, at his table, and among his dependents, he is austere, fretful, and unforgiving; when one mistake or fault is committed, it reminds him of many former ones, which the culprit is to be reproached with. Nor is this treatment confined only to the view of his own family; it often breaks out before strangers. Can it be any cause of wonder, that such a man is frequently complaining for want of good servants? When Timon visits any of his acquaintances, he is always discovering something amiss, either in greater or lesser matters, for none escape him; and this not only furnishes him with something to talk about while there, often very disagreeable to those who are faulted, but to repeat when he goes to another house: this returns, by some channel or other, to the knowledge of the first family, who are further irritated at being the subject of his remarks behind their

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backs. And yet Timon wonders that he is not beloved by his neighbours! But enough of this subject: the ridiculous and mischievous effects of ill-nature cannot be described in one character.

ATTICUS.

Philadelphia, May 23, 1767.



A series of letters on education. Ascribed to the rev. John Witherspoon, president of Princeton college.

Continued from page 315.

LETTER V.

LET us now proceed to consider more fully what it is to form children to piety by example. This is a subject of great extent, and, perhaps, of difficulty. The difficulty, however, does not consist either in the abstruseness of the arguments, or uncertainty of the facts upon which they are founded, but in the minuteness or trifling nature of the circumstances, taken separately, which makes them often either wholly unnoticed or greatly undervalued. It is a subject, which, if I mistake not, is much more easily conceived than explained. If you have it constantly in your mind, that your whole visible deportment will powerfully, though insensibly, influence the opinions and future conduct of your children, it will give a form or colour, if I may speak so, to every thing you say or do. There are numberless and nameless instances, in which this reflexion will make you speak, or refrain from speaking, add, or abstain from, some circumstances of action, in what you are engaged in; nor will this be accompanied with any reluctance in the one case, or constraint in the other.

But I must not content myself with this. My profession gives me many opportunities of observing, that the impression made by general truths, however justly stated or fully proved, is seldom strong or lasting. Let me therefore descend to practice, and illustrate what I have said by examples. Here again a difficulty occurs. If I give a particular instance, it will perhaps operate no farther than recommending a like conduct in circumstances the same, or perfectly similar. For example, I might say, in speaking to the disadvantage of absent per-

sons, I beseech you never fail to add the reason why you take such liberty, and indeed never take that liberty at all, but when it can be justified upon the principles of prudence, candor, and charity. A thing may be right in itself, but children should be made to see why it is right. This is one instance of exemplary caution, but if I were to add a dozen more to it, they would only be detached precepts; whereas I am anxious to take in the whole extent of edifying example. In order to this, let me range or divide what I have to say, under distinct heads. A parent who wishes that his example should be a speaking lesson to his children, should order it so as to convince them, that he considers religion as necessary, respectable, amiable, profitable, and delightful. I am sensible that some of these characters may seem so nearly allied, as scarcely to admit of a distinction. Many parts of a virtuous conduct fall under more than one of these denominations. Some actions perhaps deserve all the epithets here mentioned, without exception; and without prejudice one of another. But the distinctions seem to me very useful, for there is certainly a class of actions which may be said to belong peculiarly, or at least eminently, to each of these different heads. By taking them separately, therefore, it will serve to point out more fully the extent of your duty, and to suggest it when it would not otherwise occur, as well as to let the obligation to it in the stronger light.

1. You should, in your general deportment, make your children perceive that you look upon religion as absolutely necessary. I place this first, because it appears to me first both in point of order and force. I am far from being against taking all pains to shew that religion is rational and honourable in itself, and vice the contrary; but I despise the foolish refinement of those, who, through fear of making children mercenary, are for being very sparing of the mention of heaven or hell. Such conduct is apt to make them conceive, that a neglect of their duty is only falling short of a degree of honour and advantage, which, for the gratification of their passions, they are very willing to relinquish. Many parents are much

more ready to tell their children such or such a thing is mean, and not like a gentleman, than to warn them that they will thereby incur the displeasure of their Maker. But when the practices are really and deeply criminal, as in swearing and lying, it is quite improper to rest the matter there. I admit that they are both mean, and that justice ought to be done to them in this respect, but I contend that it should only be a secondary consideration.

Let not human reasonings be put in the balance with divine wisdom. The care of our souls is represented in scripture as the one thing needful. He makes a miserable bargain, who gains the whole world, and loses his own soul. It is not the native beauty of virtue, or the outward credit of it, or the inward satisfaction arising from it, or even all these combined together, that will be sufficient to change our natures and govern our conduct; but a deep conviction, that unless we are reconciled to God, we shall, without doubt, perish everlastingly.

You will say, that is very true, and very fit for a pulpit, but what is that class of actions that should impress it habitually on the minds of children? Perhaps you will even say, what one action will any good man be guilty of—much more habitual conduct—that can tend to weaken their belief of it? This is the very point which I mean to explain. It is certainly possible that a man may at stated times give out that he looks upon religion to be absolutely necessary, and yet his conduct, in many particulars, may have no tendency to impress this on the minds of his children. If he suffers particular religious duties to be easily displaced, to be shortened, postponed, or omitted, upon the most trifling accounts, depend upon it, this will make religion in general seem less necessary, to those who observe it. If an unpleasant day will keep a man from public worship, when perhaps a hurricane will not keep him from an election meeting—if he chooses to take physic, or give it to his children, on the Lord's day, when it could be done with equal ease on the day before or after—if he will more readily allow his servants to pay a visit to their friends on that day than any other,

though he has reason to believe that they will spend it in junketing and idleness—it will not be easy to avoid suspecting that worldly advantage is what determines his choice.

Take an example or two more upon this head. Supposing a man usually to worship God in his family; if he sometimes omit it—if he allow every little business to interfere with it—if company will make him dispense with it, or shift it from its proper season—believe me, the idea of religion being every man's first and great concern, is in a good measure weakened, if not wholly lost. It is a very nice thing in religion to know the real connexion between, and the proper mixture of, spirit and form. The form, without the spirit, is good for nothing; but, on the other hand, the spirit, without the form, never yet existed. I am of opinion, that punctual and even scrupulous regularity in all those duties that occur periodically, is the way to make them easy and pleasant to those who attend them. They also become, like all other habits, in some degree necessary; so that those who have been long accustomed to them, feel an uneasiness in families where they are generally or frequently neglected. I cannot help also mentioning to you, the great danger of paying and receiving visits on the Lord's day, unless when it is absolutely necessary. It is a matter not merely difficult, but wholly impracticable, in such cases, to guard effectually against improper subjects of conversation. Nor is this all, for let the conversation be what it will, I contend that the duties of the family and the closet are fully sufficient to employ the whole time; which must therefore be wasted or misapplied by the intercourse of strangers.

I only further observe, that I know no circumstance from which your opinion of the necessity of religion will appear with greater clearness, or carry in it greater force, than your behaviour towards and treatment of your children in time of dangerous sickness. Certainly there is no time in their whole lives, when the necessity appears more urgent, or the opportunity more favourable, for impressing their minds with a sense of the things that belong to their peace. What shall we say, then, of those parents,

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who, through fear of alarming their minds, and augmenting their disorder, will not suffer any mention to be made to them of the approach of death, or the importance of eternity? I will relate to you an example of this. A young gentleman of estate in my parish, was taken ill of a dangerous fever in a friend's house at a distance. I went to see him in his illness, and his mother, a widow lady, intreated me not to say any thing alarming to him, and not to pray with him, but to go to prayer in another room, wherein, she wisely observed, it would have the same effect. The young man himself soon found that I did not act as he had expected, and was so impatient that it became necessary to give him the true reason. On this he insisted, in the most positive manner, that all restriction should be taken off, which was done. What was the consequence? He was exceedingly pleased and composed; and if this circumstance did not hasten, it certainly neither hindered nor retarded his recovery.

Be pleased to remark, that the young gentleman here spoken of, neither was, at that time, nor is yet, so far as I am able to judge, truly religious; and therefore I have formed a fixed opinion, that in this, as in many other instances, the wisdom of man disappoints itself. Pious advice and consolation, if but tolerably administered, in sickness, are not only useful to the soul, but serve particularly to calm an agitated mind, to bring the animal spirits to an easy flow, and the whole frame into such a state as will best favour the operation of medicine, or the efforts of the constitution, to throw off or conquer the disease.

Suffer me to wander a little from my subject, by observing to you, that as I do not think the great are to be much envied for any thing, so they are truly and heartily to be pitied for the deception that is usually put upon them by flattery and false tenderness. Many of them are brought up with so much delicacy, that they are never suffered to see any miserable or afflicting object, nor, so far as it can be hindered, to hear any afflicting story of distress. If they themselves are sick, how many absurd and palpable lies are told them by their friends? and as for

physicians, I may safely say, few of them are much conscience-bound in this matter. Now, let the success of these measures be what it will, the only fruit to be reaped from them is to make a poor dying sinner mistake his or her condition, and vainly dream of earthly happiness, while hastening to the pit of perdition. But, as I said before, men are often taken in their own craftiness. It oftentimes happens that such persons, by an ignorant servant, or officious neighbour, or some unlucky accident, make a sudden discovery of their true situation, and the shock frequently proves fatal. Oh! how much more desirable is it—how much more like the reason of men, as well as the faith of christians—to consider and prepare for what must inevitably come to pass? I cannot easily conceive any thing more truly noble, than for a person in health and vigour, in honour and opulence, by voluntary reflection to sympathize with others in distress; and by a well-founded confidence in divine mercy, to obtain the victory over the fear of death.

2. You ought to live so as to make religion appear respectable. Religion is a venerable thing in itself, and it spreads an air of dignity over a person's whole deportment. I have seen a common tradesman, merely because he was a man of true piety and undeniable worth, treated by his children, apprentices, and servants, with a much greater degree of deference and submission, than is commonly given to men of superior station, without that character. Many of the same meanesses are avoided, by a gentleman from a principle of honour, and by a good man from a principle of conscience. The first keeps out of the company of common people, because they are below him; the last is cautious of mixing with them, because of that levity and profanity that is to be expected from them. If, then, religion is really venerable when sincere, a respectable conduct ought to be maintained, as a proof of your own integrity, as well as to recommend it to your children. To this add, if you please, that as reverence is the peculiar duty of children to their parents, any thing that tends to lessen it, is more deeply felt by them than by others who observe it. When I have seen a parent, in the presence

of his child, meanly wrangling with his servant, telling extravagant stories, or otherwise exposing his vanity, credulity, or folly, I have felt just the same proportion of sympathy and tenderness for the one, that I did of contempt or indignation at the other.

What has been said, will, in part, explain the errors which a parent ought to shun, and what circumstances he ought to attend to, that religion may appear respectable. All meanesses, whether of sentiment, conversation, dress, manners, or employment, are carefully to be avoided. You will apply this properly to yourself. I may, however, just mention, that there is a considerable difference in all these particulars, according to men's different stations. The same actions are mean in one station, that are not so in another. The thing itself, however, still remains; as there is an order and cleanliness at the table of tradesmen, that is different from the elegance of a gentleman's, or the sumptuousness of a prince's or nobleman's. But to make the matter still plainer by particular examples. I look upon talkativeness and vanity to be among the greatest enemies to dignity. It is needless to say how much vanity is contrary to true religion; and as to the other, which may seem rather an infirmity than a sin, we are expressly cautioned against it, and commanded to be swift to hear, and slow to speak. Sudden anger, too, and loud clamorous scolding, are at once contrary to piety and dignity. Parents should, therefore, acquire, as much as possible, a composure of spirit, and meekness of language; nor are there many circumstances that will more recommend religion to children, when they see that this self command is the effect of principle and a sense of duty.

There is a weakness I have observed in many parents, to shew a partial fondness for some of their children, to the neglect, and, in many cases, approaching to a jealousy or hatred of others. Sometimes we see a mother discover an excessive partiality to a handsome daughter, in comparison of those that are more homely in their figure. This is a barbarity, which would be truly incredible, did not experience prove that it really exists. One would think they should rather

be excited by natural affection, to give all possible encouragement to those who labour under a disadvantage, and bestow every attainable accomplishment to balance the defects of outward form. At other times, we see a partiality which cannot be accounted for at all, where the most ugly, peevish, froward child of the whole family, is the favourite of both parents. Reason ought to counteract these errors; but piety ought to extirpate them entirely. I do not stay to mention the bad effects that flow from them, my purpose being only to shew the excellence of that character which is exempted from them.

The real dignity of religion will also appear in the conduct of a good man towards his servants. It will point out the true and proper distinction between condescension and meanness. Humility is the very spirit of the gospel. Therefore, hear your servants with patience, examine their conduct with candor, treat them with all the humanity and gentleness that is consistent with unremitted authority: when they are sick, visit them in person, provide remedies for them, sympathize with them, and shew them that you do so; take care of their interests; assist them with your counsel and influence to obtain what is their right. But, on the other hand, never make yourself their proper companion; do not seem to taste their society; do not hear their jokes, or ask their news, or tell them yours. Believe me, this will never make you either beloved or esteemed by your servants themselves; and it will greatly derogate from the dignity of true religion in the eyes of your children. Suffer me, also, to caution you against that most unjust and illiberal practice, of exercising your wit in humorous strokes upon your servants, before company, or while they wait at table. I do not know any thing so evidently mean, that is, at the same time, so common. It is, I think, just such a cowardly thing as to beat a man who is bound; because the servant, however happy a repartee might occur to him, is not at liberty to answer, but at the risk of having his bones broken. In this, as in many other particulars, reason, refinement, and liberal manners, teach exactly the same thing

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with religion; and I am happy in being able to add, that religion is generally the most powerful, as well as most uniform principle of decent conduct.

I shall have done with this particular, when I have observed, that those who are engaged in public, or what I may call political life, have an excellent opportunity of making religion appear truly respectable. What I mean is, by shewing themselves firm and incorruptible, in supporting those measures that appear best calculated for promoting the interest of religion, and the good of mankind. In all these cases, I admire that man who has principles, whose principles are known, and whom every body despairs of being able to seduce, or bring over to the opposite interest. I do not commend furious and intemperate zeal. Steadiness is a much better, and quite a different thing. I would contend with any man who should speak most calmly, but I would also contend with him who should act most firmly. As for your placebo's, your prudent, courtly, compliant gentlemen, whose vote in assembly will tell you where they dined the day before, I hold them very cheap indeed, as you very well know. I do not enter farther into this argument, but conclude at this time, by observing, that public measures are always embraced under pretence of principle; and therefore, an uniform uncorrupted public character is one of the best evidences of real principle. The free-thinking gentry tell us, upon this subject, that "every man has his price." It lies out of my way to attempt refuting them at present, but it is to be hoped there are many whose price is far above their reach. If some of my near relations, who took so much pains to attach me to the interest of evangelical truth, had been governed by court influence in their political conduct, it had not been in my power to have esteemed their characters, or perhaps to have adhered to their instructions. But as things now stand, I have done both from the beginning, and I hope God will enable me by his grace, to continue to do so to the end of life. I leave the other particulars to the next letter, and am,

Sir,
yours, &c.

VOL. IV. No. V.

Thoughts on the present situation of the united states: by Trench Cox, Esquire.

THE late revolution has rendered the American states an object of universal observation. The nature of the causes, which produced it, occasions the fate of this country to be deeply interesting to every friend of mankind. To form opinions from several unpleasing circumstances which have occurred since the return of peace, would lead the world to conclusions less favourable than the true state of our affairs would justify. To promote the confidence of the American in the condition of his country, and to inspire with a well grounded expectation from her future fortunes, those foreigners, who have extended to us an eye of esteem and regard, is a duty the most pleasing and important.

In order to ascertain truly our present situation, it will be necessary to examine, without reserve, the occasions of dishonour and distress which have occurred in the united states.

The assumption of a new form of government in any country, is necessarily preceded by the suppression of the old one.—In this crisis, the human passions naturally rise, and require more than an ordinary power to keep them within due bounds. The government, which the nation assumes, is of course less energetic, at such a moment than others of the same form, which have been exercised for a series of years; and the particular form, which the united states adopted, is of less energy in its own nature, than that which they had suppressed. Under these circumstances, it is not a matter of wonder that government should have been weak in America for several years after the peace: but when we remember, that a war of considerable duration, accompanied with invasion, rendered it necessary to dispense occasionally with every species of civil authority, that was not requisite to the preservation of liberty, we shall see that a general relaxation in our administration was inevitable. Hence the insurrection of Shays, and all the temporary disorders in the united states.—Hence, among other causes, that conviction of the indispensable necessity of an efficient

B

federal head, which has pervaded every mind—Hence the present happy prospect of a firm and steady government under our new constitution.

The situation of America, in the time of the war, rendered the collection of taxes absolutely impracticable, and the attempt unwise and dangerous. A paper medium was introduced in lieu of all the ordinary ways and means of established nations. Political necessity impelled the states to enforce its reception. To give complete circulation to that medium, or to relinquish the contest, were the alternatives. A measure thus dictated by necessity, had become too familiar to the state legislatures and the people. What had really proved the means of salvation in the war, was resorted to, from considerations of public convenience and private interest, after the peace. Habituated to the use of paper money and legal tenders, several of the states, without reflecting on the consequences, issued large emissions. It is needless—it would be extremely painful—to recount the evils they have produced. A general conviction of the danger and dishonour, to which this practice subjected us, concurred with other circumstances in producing the late federal convention, who, by the provisions of the constitution they devised, have prevented all future trials of this pernicious and unjust measure.

The imprudence of the European and of the American merchants, the first in giving, and the last in taking extensive credits, and the immense speculations of uninformed adventurers in our trade, have contributed greatly to the disorders of our country. The farmer and the citizen, in want of many conveniences during the war, were tempted by credits, as unbounded as the importations, to purchase articles beyond their wants, and, in too many instances, not suited to their circumstances. Hence arose the cry for paper money (now for ever interdicted)—Hence insalutary laws, and other invasions of the rights of property—Hence that just, honourable and salutary clause of the new constitution, rendering absolutely null and void every future law that would impair the obligations of contracts.

When peace was restored to the

united states, an ardent commercial spirit appeared throughout the union—and pervaded all the walks of life. Every man was tempted to throw his money into foreign commerce. The desire of gain, and fear of tender laws, conspired to produce this conduct. Trade was overdone and often badly conducted. Moreover, the effects of the revolution upon our commerce were not then discovered, and the most judicious merchants made unprofitable voyages, by resuming branches of business, which had raised the fortunes of themselves and their fathers in former times. These mistakes are now at an end, and with them the injuries they produced.

Besides the circumstances already mentioned, some others, of a temporary nature also, contributed to disorder and distress us; but experience, exertion, and the acquisition of an energetic federal government (the want of which was deeply injurious) have at length relieved us.

After thus unreservedly pointing out the principal causes of our past disorders, it will be satisfactory to our friends at home and abroad, to see the superiority of our present condition over our colonial situation, and to view the ground on which they may hereafter rely for happiness and prosperity in the united states.

Before the revolution, large revenues were collected in this country, and transported in solid coin to Europe. This is no longer the case—America, on the contrary, is relieved exceedingly in regard to the expenses of government, by supplying all the articles required, from her agriculture, her commerce, or her manufactures. The principal executive, and frequently the judicial officers of our government, were formerly sent from Britain, and when they returned thither, carried with them the property they had acquired here. This also is now at an end.

The monopoly of our trade deprived us of immense sums, which are now gained by the merchant or saved by the consumer in America. The India company sold their teas to our factors in Europe for more sterling than we now pay in currency for them here—so of china, cotton goods, &c. These supplies are now brought to us

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by all foreign nations, and, what is still better, by our own ships—The same observations may be made upon all foreign produce and manufactures, consumed in the united states. But the monopoly of our trade did not end here: our exports were materially affected. The revolution has given us the demand of France for tobacco, and other colonies for our lumber and some other articles—the sale of ginseng, &c. in India, that of rice, indigo, and tobacco in all the north of Europe, and so of other things, the real benefits of which are proved by the prices of all our produce for several years since the peace.

When we remember the moderate capitals which were employed in commerce before the revolution, and compute the great sums that will be necessary in the trade to China, India, Russia, Holland, France, Portugal, Spain, and places not formerly open to our ships, or many of whose goods we could not then import, we shall find an ample field for commerce. The difficulties in our trade have been exceedingly increased by the total want of national regulations, and by the dormant property, in goods and debts, which has distressed our merchants. Every day is bringing a remedy for these evils.

It is well known that before the revolution every obstruction was thrown in the way of American manufactures, by the government of England. Seeing that we had a country abounding with fine lands, they had only a jealousy about those manufactures that required not many hands; and when the enterprize of America would have introduced water mills, to save manual labour, they did not refrain from a parliamentary prohibition. Freed from these restraints, the united states are now bent upon every species of manufacture in which manual labour is cheap, or can be, in a great degree, dispensed with. Fire, water, horses and machines are the means by which we may carry on the most profitable manufactories known at this time in the world. Breweries, still-houses, pot ash and salt works, powder and paper mills, sugar houses, rolling and slitting mills, oil-mills, and that great object, the cotton manufacture, are a-

mong the number. The importance of some of these is not at all known among ourselves. I presume there are few even in Pennsylvania, who have been informed that one thousand tons of plate iron and nail rods are annually made in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. The total expulsi- on of foreign beer, and converting the manufacture into an article of exportation, is a great transition. Manufactures, in many instances, have surpassed the point of saving, and are becoming assistant to commerce. Three or four callico printers, with very moderate capitals, might exceedingly promote the profits of the East India merchant, and, by the cheap and simple operation of printing the white callicoes of India and China, might rapidly decrease and finally suppress the importation from Europe. The manufacture of cotton goods might also assist the East India trader, by working up imported cotton warp, which is made upon much lower terms in China and India than in England. Before we conclude the article of manufactures, it will be necessary to take more particular notice of ONE ALL-IMPORTANT FACT upon that subject. Previous to the revolution, though we attempted many things in which manual labour was saved, yet there was no expectation that an ingenious complication of mechanism would ever be effected by which all the benefits of thousands and tens of thousands of hands could be given to this country. This discovery, capital as it is, could prove but a temporary source of separate profit to any European nation, as the self-interest and vigilance of their neighbours would sooner or later obtain the secret from them. Accordingly we find the Flemings and the French have already established several works upon the English plan. But the united states are so peculiarly circumstanced as to obtain the utmost benefits of these new and capital inventions. Her manufacturers, by machines, placed at the distance of three thousand miles from all rivals, and enjoying a very great demand for low priced goods, will be long, very long protected in the profits of those machines by charges of 20 to 30 per cent. that will arise on the importati-

on of foreign articles; and while our vacant lands call for millions of people to draw forth their fruits, these invaluable machines, employed in one instance on a new article of produce [cotton] which they have introduced, will furnish most of the manufactures that will be necessary to clothe and supply them.

Whoever is really and minutely informed in the affairs of the united states, and considers with due care and candor the preceding hints, will not hesitate to admit that the monied capitals, which we could command at any period since the settlement of the country, are unequal to the advantageous plans of internal and foreign commerce that the observations of the few last years have presented to us. The nature and channels of trade were so materially altered by the revolution, that those, who found their accustomed braches had been cut off, or had become unprofitable, hastily concluded that we had lost our commerce entirely. But the opinion has been found on reflexion and experience extremely erroneous. The collection of their outlanding monies is all that is now necessary to our own citizens, which the late reform in our governments has fully secured to them—and there is an ample field for well informed and judicious foreigners to engage to advantage with fresh capitals, especially in manufactures.

As the towns and cities of the united states promise happiness and profit to the merchant, and particularly to the manufacturer who shall come from abroad, so an unbounded scene of certain advantage, and of substantial comfort, is offered by the country to farmers and persons desirous of creating landed estates. In the populous and ancient countries, excellent lands are to be procured on easy payments, and on terms far inferior to the most ordinary farms in any part of Europe; and in those countries which are more thinly inhabited, a year's rent of an inconsiderable European farm, will purchase a valuable tract of unimproved lands; for example, in the states of Pennsylvania and New-York, within a day's carting of navigable water leading to their respective capitals, lands are to be bought (of an excellent quality) for the trifling prices

of four, five and six shillings sterling per acre.

'Tis in vain that the rivals or enemies of such a country attempt to mislead or deceive the monied men, the manufacturers and farmers of Europe. Every man among them must see that there is not upon earth another scene, which affords upon the same terms equal means of subsistence, of comfort and of wealth—A short residence gives the emigrant from any country, of every language and every religion, the rights and privileges of a citizen. Whatever may be his faith or mode of worship, the laws place him beyond the reach of all interference with what his feelings, his judgment and his conscience dictate to him as right. No man can exercise over him any civil authority but by his own free and uncontrouled vote. When a knowledge of his character and his establishment in the country shall have given to the people a sufficient evidence of his interest in and attachment to the community, he may be called to those offices, which he will have before contributed to confer upon others.

Such have been the causes of temporary disorder in the united states—such the ground upon which, from want of information or from design, too strong reproach has been heaped upon our country—such are the prospects of our farmers, our manufacturers, and our merchants—and such the strong inducements to the people of the European nations, of every description, to make America their home. *Philadelphia, Oct. 17th.*

To the board of managers of the Pennsylvania society for promoting manufactures and useful arts:

The report of the committee for manufactures.

THIS committee, considering that the business, in which they are engaged, had attracted the public notice, and that it would be expected some account should be given of the progress and present state of the institution, in August last began an enquiry into the state of their funds, their stock of goods, machines, and utensils; by which they are enabled to lay before you the following statement, and

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they flatter themselves it affords a pleasing prospect of future success.

It is now about twelve months since this society was formed, and subscriptions were entered into, some of which, from various causes, have not yet been paid. They therefore state the amount of the subscriptions received to the 23d August, and shew the manner in which the money hath been applied.

Amount of cash received of contributors, when exchanged for specie, £. 1327 10 6
From this, deduct for machines, utensils and fitting up the house for the manufactory, 453 10 3

Which leaves a circulating capital of £. 874 0 4

With a view to meet one idea of the subscribers, the employment of the poor, and to promote the other objects of the institution, the committee purchased a quantity of flax, and employed between two and three hundred women in spinning linen-yarn during the winter and spring, and also engaged workmen to make a carding engine, and four jennies of forty, forty-four, sixty, and eighty spindles, for spinning of cotton; and as soon as the season would permit the house to be fitted up, they were set to work. It is unnecessary to observe on the difficulties which occur in so arduous an undertaking, as attempting to establish manufactures in a country not much acquainted with them, such as finding artists and making machines, without models, (or but imperfect ones.) The committee have further had various obstructions thrown in their way by foreign agents, of which you have already been informed. From these causes, it happened that it was the 15th of April before the first loom was set to work: the number has been since increased to twenty-six, and in them have been wrought the following goods to August 23d.

Of jeans	2959 1-2 yards,
Corduroys	197 1-2
Federal rib	67
Beaver fustian	37
Plain cottons	1567 1-2
Linen	925
Tow linen	1337 1-2
	7111 yards

Besides in the looms two hundred yards of jeans, corduroys, cottons, and linen, out of which manufactured goods, they had sold, at that time, of jeans, dyed cotton and linen yarn, fine and tow linen, &c. to the amount of four hundred and forty eight pounds, five shillings and eleven-pence half-penny, besides which, in order to shew the state of the factory to the 23d of August, in a clearer light, they subjoin the following statement of the stock account.

S T O C K.

Dr. To cash	£. 1327 10 6 1-2
To debts due sundry persons	375 9 0
To profit	72 4 9 1-2
	<hr/>
	£. 1775 4 4

Cr. Byutenfitt, &c.	£. 453 10 3
Goods on hand and at the bleachers' and printers'	732 14 11
Materials and linen yarn on hand	550 2 6
Outstanding debts	38 16 9
	<hr/>
	£. 1775 4 4

In addition to the enumerated articles manufactured to the 23d of August, we annex the following to November 1st.

Jeans	759 1-2 yards
Corduroys	382 1-2
Flowered cotton	39
Cottons	2095
Flax linens	123
Tow ditto	494
Bird eye	123

4016 yards

And about two hundred and forty yards of different kinds of goods now in the looms, the whole amounting to eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-seven yards; and there has also been manufactured by the twisting mill, about one hundred and eighty-five pounds of plain, coloured, and knitting thread: since the first of August also, a hundred and ninety yards cottons have been printed; and it may be observed, that the want of proper bleachyards, and the difficulty of procuring persons well skilled in bleaching, contributed to prevent the quantity being printed which was intended.

The committee have now laid before you a statement of their proceedings, and might adduce many arguments to prove the propriety, and, indeed, the necessity of giving every encouragement to establish this valuable branch of internal trade; but they apprehend that the motives, which gave birth to the association, have not lost their energy, either from the result of these experiments, or the prospect of future success: and they do not hesitate to add, that every view of the subject fully proves the peculiar importance of the cotton manufacture to this country, and the possibility (with proper exertions) of giving it a permanency, which, they doubt not, will prove a source both of private and public wealth. Impressed with those sentiments, and feeling sensibly our late dependence on foreign nations for many of the most useful articles in life, it is certain, that unless there are great exertions of virtue and industry, we must still remain in the same disadvantageous situation; whilst, on the other hand, if we pursue the plan of establishing manufactures amongst ourselves, we thereby open an extensive field of employment for persons of almost every description.

SAMUEL WETHERILL, jun.
chairman, pro tem.

Report of a committee of the board of managers on the above.

The committee of the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Society of arts and manufactures, to whom was referred the above report of the manufacturing committee, concerning their transactions, and the present state of the factory, having conferred with those gentlemen, and fully investigated and considered the subject, deem it their duty to offer the following facts, and remarks thereon, with a view to public information.

In the latter part of the year 1787, the society had obtained subscriptions to an amount sufficient to enable them to open a factory. The general wish of the manufacturing committee, at that time, was to obtain some of those machines, which, by a substitution for manual labour, enable the most agricultural countries to manufacture to very great advantage; but as nothing of that kind could be then obtained, and as the approaching winter made the employment of the poor a

great object; and further, as the latter was deemed by many, one of the principal ends to be obtained by a public factory, they determined to purchase a quantity of flax, which they dealt out for spinning, to between two and three hundred women. The manufacturing committee were of opinion, that little profit could be expected from making linen; flax being worth at that time ten-pence half-penny per pound, and they had then no demand for linen-yarn for any other fabric. Thus circumstanced, a large quantity of linen-yarn was spun of flax, which cost from nine-pence to ten-pence half-penny per pound, and for some small parcels even eleven-pence was paid. Out of this thread two thousand nine hundred and forty yards of linen were made, without much expectation of profit, and a sufficient quantity remained, to make the chain of near sixteen thousand yards of plain cottons, fustians, jeans, and corduroys; of which, however, but little more than half that quantity is yet manufactured. From the zeal and activity of the members of the society, measures were at length fallen on, to obtain two complete machines, one for carding raw cotton, and the other known by the name of a jenny, for spinning cotton yarn. Animated by this acquisition, the manufacturing committee were enabled (on the 12th of April, 1788) to begin the manufacture of jeans, cottons, and fustians, which were very substantial and good, and were eagerly bought up at the same prices as the foreign, by people of various circumstances and situations in life, until the want of demand for summer clothing put a stop to the sale for the present year.—The committee, however, being unable to procure some necessary implements for cutting and finishing winter cotton goods, such as corduroys, thicksets, and velvets, have been obliged, contrary to their wishes, and the evident interest of the subscribers, to continue the manufacture of summer articles, when they should have been preparing for the winter demand, and have therefore only wove seven hundred and forty-nine yards of federal rib and corduroys, and these were all unfinished on the 20th of September, for want of the implements mentioned above.

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manufacturing fund on the 23d of August, a profit appears of seventy-two pounds, four shillings and two-pence half-penny, though the goods sold amounted to no more than four hundred forty eight pounds five shillings eleven-pence half-penny. Your committee find from a careful examination, that the then remaining goods might be expected to yield a profit also; but they think it best and safest to form their estimate upon the whole value of the manufactures made at that period. They remark, then, that goods made in the factory, up to August 23d, to the amount of seven hundred and thirty-two pounds, fourteen shillings and eleven-pence, have yielded a profit of seventy-two pounds, four shillings and nine-pence half-penny, clear of all expences, that is, ten per cent. in four months, or ten per cent. upon each operation: for, from temporary difficulties, of which some have been mentioned, and others yet are to be stated, there have not been sales to the amount of the little sum of circulating money, with which the committee commenced their business, though four, five, or even six operations might be performed in a year. Thus it appears, that this new and untried business has, in the first essay of an inexperienced but a judicious and attentive committee, produced a profit, at the rate of thirty per cent. per annum on the active capital.

A variety of obvious circumstances, attending this experiment, concur to render the prospects of the cotton manufacture much more encouraging than it is proved to be by the profits above-mentioned. The price given for flax was from nine-pence to ten-pence half-penny, and it may now be purchased of a good quality, of the remains of last year's crop, at seven-pence. The attention paid this season to the cultivation of that article, affords every reason to expect that it will be bought at six-pence half-penny, and lower in future years. Already then has half the raw materials fallen as a hundred and fifty to a hundred, the chain of all the goods having been hitherto made of linen yarn. The cotton that has been worked up, cost on a medium two shillings and seven-pence three-farthings per pound, and it may now be procured at two shil-

ings to two and three-pence, a reduction of price that could hardly have been hoped for, considering the many restraints laid by foreign nations on the exportation of that article. The southern states, which have begun the cultivation of cotton, will keep it at a reasonable price, should it succeed there, and of this there remains very little doubt. Dying and calendring heretofore cost four-pence per yard, but these probably will be done hereafter on much lower terms. Spinning and weaving have been more expensive than they will be in future, for the factory being partly to employ the poor, the manufacturing committee were less particular about wages than a person would be, who should carry on the business as his private occupation. It will be proper to inform the board, that many more spinners and weavers offered than could be then employed in the factory.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that more economy of day-labour, and less waste of raw materials would take place in a private manufactory than in this public one, when it is remembered, that each member of the manufacturing committee had a separate private business to pursue. This circumstance led to the employment of a person to attend the sales of the goods at constant wages, which, if the manufacturer did it himself, would leave an addition to his profit; or if the factory were ten times as great, that business might be done by one person.

The Philadelphia goods considerably exceeded British articles of the same kind in weight, so that a great saving might be made in the quantity of raw materials used. In the mean time they must be considered by every reflecting consumer, as really worth more money than European goods of the same fineness, for that which is heaviest will be proportionally substantial and lasting.

The price of labour having been heretofore a just objection to manufacturing in the united states, it is evident that the acquisition of machines must be a capital advantage. As they have been found to yield so handsome a profit on so small a scale, and where the manufacture is one half of linen yarn, which the machines do not make, so it is very certain that

more extensive machines, moved by horses or water, and a cotton chain, as well as a cotton filling, must increase the manufacturer's profit exceedingly; and the saving of manual labour being the great object, your committee consider these two circumstances as worthy of the most particular notice, and that they should always be kept in remembrance.

Water machines have been found best adapted to making the cotton chain, but until they shall be obtained, cotton yarn, fit for warp, it is believed, may be imported to yield a profit directly from India, and thus may manufactures be rendered in another instance advantageous to foreign commerce. As the European companies carefully avoid the importation of cotton yarn, the American merchants will have no rivals in the purchase of that article, which is much more compact, according to its value, than china ware, bohea teas, and some other India goods. The American ships from India proper, having abundance of room, may bring it with great convenience.

The want of one implement, called the burner, to finish the jeans, prevented their appearing as fine as they really were, and probably occasioned a diminution of the price. This being now obtained, the manufacture will bring its real value, and better sustain a comparison with imported goods.

Should any private person or company establish a cotton manufactory, several advantages would be gained in the present state of things, besides the reduction of flax, cotton, fuel, provision, rents, and labour. The carding machine, for instance, which cost one hundred pounds, may now be obtained for sixty pounds or less. A jenny of eighty spindles, which cost the society twenty eight pounds, can now be procured for fifteen pounds, and so of the smaller implements and utensils. Weavers might be got from the country, on more moderate terms, and new hands, who may emigrate, perhaps still lower. An evident loss of money arose from the want of a proper bleaching yard—a difficulty that cannot long continue. The workmen, except two, were unskilled in the cotton branch, and though linen weavers become excellent weavers of cotton goods, yet it took

some part of the time between April and August, and occasioned some expence to instruct them. Most of the spinners with the machines, had much to learn, and little means of instruction, whereas any number may now be taught. The factory was in a remote place, the best that offered to make the experiment, but a private manufacturer, when making a permanent establishment, would choose a situation in which his goods would sell quickly, and to the best advantage.

Your committee, being anxious to ascertain the real profits on the cotton manufacture, and wishing to check their estimate by every method in their power, requested of two of the most experienced members of the manufacturing committee (long used to the cotton business) an accurate calculation of the expence of making a given quantity of olive coloured jean with a linen chain. This was accordingly done by each without any communication between them, and the particulars were minutely set down. Flax was rated at 7d. and cotton at 2s. 3d. per pound; weaving at 7d. per yard; dying and calendring at 4d. &c. The result of one estimate was 2s. 3d. and of the other 2s. 4d. 1-2 per yard for olive coloured jean, equal in appearance to the British quality, which was sold in the piece at 3s. 3d. per yard, last summer. It must be observed, that the American goods, on which the calculation was made, are above half an inch wider and much heavier than the imported, and that the rates of labour and prices of the raw materials were fixed, on a medium, rather higher than they would prove to a careful manufacturer. This fact must give very great satisfaction, as it confirms the truth of those consequences, which have been drawn from the foregoing investigation.

Your committee, having carefully examined into every part of this business, and thus fully stated to the board the facts and observations that occurred to them, impressed with the clearest conviction of the importance of the cotton branch, beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms, the prosecution of this manufacture by fresh subscriptions, until a knowledge and due sense of its value, shall induce some proper persons, either citizens

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The
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JOS. B.

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GEORGE CLYMER,
TENCH COXE.

The above report being read and approved, was ordered for publication.
JOS. B. M'KEAN, Secretary.



Letter from lord Howe to Dr Franklin.

Eagle, June 20, 1776.

I Cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent you, in the state I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

You will learn the nature of my commission from the official dispatches, which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies, which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable, in the object of the king's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament, that it is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you personally of the regard with which I am your most sincere and faithful humble servant.

HOWE.

P. S. I was disappointed of the opportunity I expected for sending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever since prevented by calms and contrary winds, from getting hence to inform general Howe of the commission with which I have the satisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12th July.
To Benjamin Franklin, esquire, Philadelphia.

VOL. IV. NO. V.

A N S W E R.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1776.

I Received safe the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

The official dispatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon on submission; which I was sorry to find, as it must give your lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now sending foreign mercenaries to deluge our country with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear: but, were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured; you can never confide again in those as fellow subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit, by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

But your lordship mentions "the king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies." If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship power to treat with us for such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think

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a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances; but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though by punishing those American governors who have fomented the discord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as possible, the mischief done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength to be derived from a friendship with us: yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation—her lust for dominion, as an ambitious one—and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one—(none of them legitimate causes of war)—will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and will continually goad her on in these ruinous, distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the cruises formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

I have not the vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase—the British empire; for I know, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy which wet my cheeks, when at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation, under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and, among

the rest, some share in the regard of lord Howe.

The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful for me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the ground of which, as described in your letter, is “the the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels:” To me it seems, that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce, are the cheapness and goodness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station. With the greatest and most sincere respect,

I have the honour to be,
my lord, your lordship's most
obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

On public credit.—In a letter to a friend.

Sir,
YOU ask me, if we shall not soon have better times? to answer no, and to say that I think there is no prospect of it, without assigning a reason for what I say, would be to leave the matter where it was before you asked the question; unless my opinion, without the principles, whereon I have formed it, would be satisfactory; which I have no right to suppose would be the case. To assign my reasons, would be opening a wide field, which I have not time to fully

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traverse, even if you had patience to attend me through it. But I shall employ a moment's leisure on the subject.

Public faith, among the Romans, was considered as the jewel of the commonwealth, and he who attempted to injure it, was considered as the greatest enemy of the state. This was when their government was in its highest perfection.

Public credit is the necessary offspring of public faith; and without it, no nation on earth can exist, under the enjoyment of a free constitution and government. What I mean by a free constitution, is such a form of a commonwealth as considers property existing, independent of government, and government formed for the support and protection of it; and that protection flowing from "standing promulgated laws," carried into execution by "known and authorized judges;" and equally and impartially applying to each member of the state. I mean, in fine, a form of government established by the people, which secures to them their property as their own, against rapine, and under no controul of a legislature, and is a law to the legislative authority itself. In such a government, public credit is absolutely necessary to the existence of the state, because no government can have resources for every emergency; and sovereigns therefore are often obliged to apply to the people, for the loan of that property, which cannot be taken without their consent.

But in an arbitrary government, where the executive, judicial, and legislative authority are all alike, in the hands of the sovereign power, property is considered as derived from, not merely protected by, the government, and is rather a possessory loan, than a right; and the sovereign power has no need of credit; public faith to the subjects is of no consequence; force answers the purpose of credit, and the monarch takes what he wants, and compels thanks for leaving the residue: and who is there in our day, and in our country, that does not realize the distinction between these forms of state policy? if there is any one that does not, I will venture to pronounce him a slave, and urge him to the realms of Sweden, Denmark,

Russia, or Prussia, where he may enjoy slavery at his ease, and in the highest perfection.

If public credit, is then so necessary to the very existence of a state, you will ask me why these states are destitute of it, and how they shall procure it? As to the united states, as a nation, they never had any national credit. Have patience; I will explain myself; to do which, it is necessary to fix the true meaning of national or public credit.

Here, then, I say, that credit is the forcing an opinion upon another, who is possessed of something which we want, and which we have no right to take from him without his consent, that if he delivers it to us, we will pay him an equivalent for it, according to the compact made between the parties.

Here, then, public faith is the first, and most substantial foundation of this opinion: for as no process of coercion can be issued against a government holding sovereign power, unless the lender believes that the state has such a sacred regard to public faith as not to violate the compact, the opinion necessary to credit can never be formed. But should the possessor of the property wanted on loan, have a full conviction of the government's regard to public faith, the next enquiry will be, whether the contractors, the agents of the state, have power to comply with the contract. To raise a conviction of this, the practice is in Europe to lay a duty upon a certain article supposed to be sufficiently productive to answer the purpose, and to consider the fund thus raised, as sacredly the property of the creditor who loans upon it, as any thing else he possesses—the idea, then, that the government has authority to compel the payment of that duty, and that they never will take back, or violate the pledge, gives national credit. This example might serve for thousands that might be put.

Previous to the confederation, congress had no powers at all, but what arose from the voluntary consent of the people. They recommended, and the people, for their own safety, complied. It is true, they anticipated national faith, which, in itself, was a great novelty. They made paper

bills for a currency, and obtained loans; but it was not because they possessed power to support a national faith, or resources to fund their debts. It was because the people hoped that they would, at a future period, possess these requisites to credit. The majority of the people in America appeared to be ready to sacrifice all they had, in support of a war, commenced in defence of their freedom; and thereby substituted enthusiasm for that opinion which is necessary to national credit; while the minority, having no love for, or regard to the measures of congress, were compelled by fear, to deliver up their proportion of property, or perhaps more, when they would not have done it as a voluntary loan to the public. These things seldom happen in a country, and it would be a great and fatal mistake, to depend upon these exertions, under a regular and systematical government.

When the confederation was made, it gave no authority to congress, whereon a public credit might be raised. I have observed, that the opinion, on which public credit is founded, is that of the existence of a power to comply with engagements, and of such a regard in the nation, to public faith, that it cannot be violated. By the confederation, congress have the powers of making war and peace, but have no authority to raise a penny, to pay a soldier, or to buy him a ration of provisions. They have authority to borrow money, but have no resources to pay, or assure the payment of one farthing of principal or interest. They are called a federal government, but this is only a sound, without force or efficacy. For government, at all times, means a man, or body of men vested with coercive powers, and capable of issuing and compelling obedience to civil process. But congress can issue no civil precept. The life of government is its energy; and this depends altogether upon the appointment, power, and amenableness of the executive officers; but congress can appoint no civil officer, nor is any one amenable to them.

Nor would the nation have been one whit better off, if all the states of the union had granted the impost in the same manner that Massachusetts has granted it. By this grant, the trial of

all forfeitures, is to be in the court of common pleas in the county where the seizures are made. The court is not of the appointment of the federal government, amenable to it, or having any connexion, in their official capacity, with it. Who then would lend congress money, or give them credit on a fund, which this state might annihilate in a moment, by repealing their laws for holding such a court, or by subverting the session of it, as they have frequently done? One or two influential characters might very probably annihilate a fund so ill supported, at any time. One remark ought not to be omitted, that is, that at the same time when the legislature of Massachusetts made this grant, the people out of doors were clamorous to subvert the court of common pleas, and the legislature were countenancing of them by considering it as a grievance, and by taking measures to render it so very contemptible, as that no man of ability and common decency, might in future take a seat in it.

I believe, sir, I have now so fully explained myself, that you will justify my saying that the united states never had any credit as a nation, because they never, in a union, possessed national powers, or national resources. But I see the objection, which you stand ready to make, "that they have borrowed money of foreign nations, and under the auspices of foreign courts, which could not be done without public credit."

I do not consider this as evidence of public credit. It is clearly evidence of an opinion of the lenders that the united states had, as a people or territory, property sufficient to pay the loans. But whether the united states, as a government, have power, or regular legal resources to pay or not, can never be indispensibly material to foreign creditors. The sovereigns who have loaned money, depend ultimately upon their own force to compel payment; they will neither petition nor sue, but by arms; and the foreign subjects, who are our creditors, depend upon the faith of their own governments ultimately to secure their demands.

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will ever be abandoned enough to make these measures necessary. I yet state the principle, to shew that we have no sense of such a national credit as is necessary to our political existence, nor can we ever have it, until congress are vested with proper powers.

Awake then, my dear sir, arouse your neighbours, convince them of the consequence of public credit, and let us all unite in an object of such immense magnitude, and so worthy the pursuit of every patriot.

TRIBUNUS.

Boston, May, 1787.

Letter to the president, vice-president and committee of the Pennsylvania society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, from the committee of the London society for promoting the abolition of the slave-trade.

Gentlemen,

YOUR favour of the 20th of October last, and the certificates which accompanied it, were much to our satisfaction. We hope the labour you have so kindly bestowed, in collecting the latter, will prove useful. We shall be further obliged by your forwarding the authentic documents you mention, respecting the treatment of the slaves in the southern states, and the West India Islands, it being contended that the instances of inhumanity are very rare. The certificates have been submitted to the perusal of several who have actively interessed themselves in promoting our common object.

But our opponents seem already sensible of the futility of a plea so extremely weak as that founded on a supposed incapacity of the black people to enjoy the blessings of freedom and civilization. Their arguments, or rather their insinuations, have lately been more particularly confined to the impolicy of abolishing the slave-trade, on which, they would have it believed, the existence of the plantations, and the consequent revenue of this kingdom essentially depend. On the other hand, it is contended, and we trust, on much better authority, that neither injury to the plantations,

nor defalcation of the revenue, would eventually ensue. To the doubts industriously suggested by some, who are interessed in favouring the former opinion, we may partly attribute the prayers of some of the numerous petitions which have already been presented to the house of commons, requesting the mere regulation of a commerce which no possible modification can rectify. But we are inclined to believe that many of them were so expressed from inadvertency, or the want of a thorough knowledge of the subject.

Remembering the declarations of the American congress, so frequently repeated during the contest with Britain, we could not but flatter ourselves that the late convention would have produced more unequivocal proofs of a regard to consistency of character, than an absolute prohibition of the proposed federal government from complying with the acknowledged obligations of humanity and justice for the term of twenty-one years. We much regret that your nervous address* on the occasion, had not an effect more adequate to the importance of the subject. What may be the event of the parliamentary business, is yet uncertain—at present the prospect is encouraging.

And though we are aware how liable those expectations are to fail, which depend upon simple and honest principles, when opposed by the intrigues of wealth and power, yet we can scarcely avoid flattering ourselves with the hope, arising from the number and respectability of the patrons of this undertaking, that it will at length be successful. Our adversaries who had, till lately, been remarkably quiet, probably because they held our endeavours in contempt, have now taken the alarm, and use every artifice of sophistry and misrepresentation to defeat our purpose; one of their most plausible allegations is, that if the British nation should lay down the trade, other nations will take it up, and therefore the condition of the Africans would not be improved, though England would sustain a considerable

NOTE.

* See American Museum, vol. III. page 304.

loss. The reply is obvious; that this nation ought to do what is right, let others do as they please; and we have a strong persuasion that, on the whole, the African trade is a losing one to this country.

It is, however, our present wish, that an appeal might be made to the humanity of other countries and governments; and, for this purpose, we commenced a correspondence in France, and a society is now forming there, whose object it will be to diffuse the knowledge of this traffic, and to shew it in its true colours. It may, perhaps, be in your power to assist our views of thus extending the sphere of action.

The privy council is now engaged in enquiries into the slave trade, and the colonial slavery; and we expect the subject will shortly be investigated in parliament.

The university of Cambridge have expressed their sense of it in a very forcible petition to the house of commons; and the clergy of the established church, in many other parts, have equally testified their zeal in the common cause.

Many counties, cities, and towns have petitioned. Amongst the cities, we have the satisfaction to enumerate Bristol, one capital seat of the African trade. The presbyterians, independents, and baptists have petitioned collectively; and the religious society called quakers, have repeated their application on the occasion; more petitions are expected from various quarters.

The attempts to retrieve the national character, and assert the common rights of nature, have awakened the attention and excited the good wishes of people of all descriptions.

It was only necessary that the torch of truth should be lighted, to flash conviction in the face of humanity; but avarice is wilfully blind. One solitary petition came up against us from the town of Liverpool; yet we are not without well-wishers, and even advocates, in that seminary of slave traders.

As much useful information is contained in the historical account of Guinea, published by your late worthy fellow citizen, A. Benezet, we are printing another edition, with a view

to give it a more extensive circulation. We shall herewith send you some copies of this committee's report to our society at large; and also such other of the tracts lately published here, on the subject, as we can collect—some of these you may think proper to republish. And we shall be obliged by any returns of the same kind you may be able to make.

Referring you to our report for further information respecting our proceedings, we have only to repeat our sincere wishes, that yours may meet with the success they deserve.

Signed by order of the committee of the London Society for promoting the abolition of the slave trade,

GRANVILLE SHARP,
chairman.

London, February 28, 1788.

—•••••
Essay on negro slavery,

NO. I.

AMIDST the infinite variety of moral and political subjects, proper for public commentation, it is truly surprising, that one of the most important and affecting should be so very generally neglected. An encroachment on the smallest civil or religious privilege, shall fan the enthusiastic flame of liberty, till it shall extend over vast and distant regions, and violently agitate a whole continent. But the cause of humanity shall be basely violated, justice shall be wounded to the heart, and national honour, deeply and lastingly polluted, and not a breath or murmur shall arise, to disturb the prevailing quiescence, or to rouse the feelings of indignation against such general, extensive, and complicated iniquity.—To what cause are we to impute this frigid silence—this torpid indifference—this cold inanimated conduct of the otherwise warm and generous Americans?—Why do they remain inactive, amidst the groans of injured humanity, the shrill and distressing complaints of expiring justice, and the keen remorse of polluted integrity?—Why do they not rise up to assert the cause of God and the world, to drive the fiend injustice into remote and distant regions, and to exterminate oppression from the face of the fair fields of America?

When the united colonies revolted from Great-Britain, they did it upon this principle, "that all men are by nature, and of right ought to be free."—After a long, successful, and glorious struggle for liberty, during which they manifested the firmest attachment to the rights of mankind, can they so soon forget the principles that then governed their determinations? Can Americans, after the noble contempt they expressed for tyrants, meanly descend to take up the scourge? Blush, ye revolted colonies, for having apostatized from your own principles.

Slavery, in whatever point of light it is considered, is repugnant to the feelings of nature, and inconsistent with the original rights of man. It ought therefore to be stigmatized for being unnatural; and detested for being unjust. 'Tis an outrage to providence, and an affront offered to divine Majesty, who has given to man his own peculiar image.—That the Americans, after considering the subject in this light—after making the most manly of all possible exertions in defence of liberty—after publishing to the world the principle upon which they contended, viz. "that all men are by nature and of right ought to be free," should still retain in subjection a numerous tribe of the human race, merely for their own private use and emolument, is, of all things, the strongest inconsistency, the deepest reflexion on our conduct, and the most abandoned apostasy that ever took place, since the Almighty fiat spoke into existence this habitable world. So flagitious a violation can never escape the notice of a just Creator, whose vengeance may be now on the wing, to disseminate and hurl the arrows of destruction.

In what light can the people of Europe consider America, after the strange inconsistency of her conduct? Will they not consider her as an abandoned and deceitful country? In the hour of calamity, the petitioned heaven to be propitious to her cause. Her prayers were heard. Heaven pitied her distress, smiled on her virtuous exertions, and vanquished all her afflictions. The ungrateful creature forgets this timely assistance—no longer remembers her own sorrows—but basely commences oppressor in her turn.—

Beware, America!—pause—and consider the difference between the mild effulgence of approving providence, and the angry countenance of incensed divinity!

The importation of slaves into America, ought to be a subject of the deepest regret, to every benevolent and thinking mind—And one of the greatest defects in the federal system, is the liberty it allows on this head. Venerable in every thing else, it is injudicious here; and it is to be much deplored, that a system of so much political perfection, should be stained with any thing that does an outrage to human nature. As a door, however, is open to amendment, for the sake of distressed humanity, of injured national reputation, and the glory of doing so benevolent a thing, I hope some wise and virtuous patriot will advocate the measure, and introduce an alteration in that pernicious part of the government.—So far from encouraging the importation of slaves, and countenancing that vile traffic in human flesh; the members of the late continental convention should have seized the happy opportunity of prohibiting for ever, this cruel species of reprobated villainy.—That they did not do so, will for ever diminish the lustre of their other proceedings, so highly extolled, and so justly distinguished, for their intrinsic value.—Let us, for a moment, contrast the sentiments and actions of the Europeans on this subject, with those of our own countrymen. In France, the warmest, and most animated exertions are making, in order to introduce the entire abolition of the slave-trade; and in England, many of the first characters of that country, advocate the same measure, with an enthusiastic philanthropy. The prime minister himself is at the head of that society; and nothing can equal the ardour of their endeavours, but the glorious goodness of the cause.—Will the Americans allow the people of England, to get the start of them in acts of humanity? Forbid it shame!

The practice of stealing, or bartering for human flesh, is pregnant with the most glaring turpitude, and the blackest barbarity of disposition.—For, can any one say, that this is doing as he would be done by? Will

such a practice stand the scrutiny of this great rule of moral government? Who can, without the complicated emotions of anger and impatience, suppose himself in the predicament of a slave! Who can bear the thoughts of his relations being torn from him by a savage enemy; carried to distant regions of the habitable globe, never more to return; and treated there, as the unhappy Africans are, in this country? Who can support the reflexion of his father—his mother—his sister—or his wife—perhaps his children—being barbarously snatched away by a foreign invader, without the prospect of ever beholding them again? Who can reflect upon their being afterwards publicly exposed to sale—obliged to labour with unwearied assiduity—and, because all things are not possible to be performed, by persons so unaccustomed to robust exercise, scourged with all the rage and anger of malignity, until their unhappy carcases are covered with ghastly wounds, and frightful contusions? Who can reflect on these things, when applying the case to himself, without being chilled with horror, at circumstances so extremely shocking?—Yet hideous as this concise and imperfect description is, of the sufferings sustained by many of our slaves, it is nevertheless true; and so far from being exaggerated, falls infinitely short of a thousand circumstances of distress, which have been recounted by different writers on the subject, and which contribute to make their situation in this life, the most absolutely wretched, and completely miserable, that can possibly be conceived.—In many places in America, the slaves are treated with every circumstance of rigorous inhumanity, accumulated hardship, and enormous cruelty.—Yet, when we take them from Africa, we deprive them of a country which God hath given them for their own; as free as we are, and as capable of enjoying that blessing. Like pirates, we go to commit devastation on the coast of an innocent country, and among a people who never did us wrong.

An insatiable, avaricious desire to accumulate riches, co-operating with a spirit of luxury and injustice, seems to be the leading cause of this peculiarly degrading and ignominious practice.

Being once accustomed to subsist without labour, we become soft and voluptuous; and rather than afterwards forego the gratification of our habitual indolence and ease, we countenance the infamous violation, and sacrifice at the shrine of cruelty, all the finer feelings of elevated humanity.

Considering things in this view, there surely can be nothing more justly reprehensible or disgusting, than the extravagant finery of many country people's daughters. It hath not been at all uncommon to observe as much gauze, lace and other trappings, on one of those country maidens, as hath employed two or three of her father's slaves, for twelve months afterwards, to raise tobacco to pay for. 'Tis an ungrateful reflexion, that all this frippery and affected finery, can only be supported by the sweat of another person's brow, and consequently, only by lawful rapine and injustice. If these young females could devote as much time from their amusement, as would be necessary for reflexion; or, was there any person of humanity at hand who would inculcate the indecency of this kind of extravagance, I am persuaded they have hearts good enough to reject, with disdain, the momentary pleasure of making a figure, in behalf of the rational and lasting delight of contributing by their forbearance, to the happiness of so many thousand individuals.

In Maryland, where slaves are treated with as much lenity, as, perhaps, they are any where, their situation is to the last degree ineligible. They live in wretched cots, that scarcely secure them from the inclemency of the weather; sleep in the ashes or on straw; wear the coarsest clothing, and subsist on the most ordinary food that the country produces. In all things, they are subject to their master's absolute command; and, of course, have no will of their own. Thus circumstanced, they are subject to great brutality, and are often treated with it. In particular instances, they may be better provided for in this state, but this suffices for a general description. But in the Carolinas, and in the island of Jamaica, the cruelties that have been wantonly exercised on those miserable creatures, are without a precedent in any other part

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of the world. If those who have written on the subject, may be believed, it is not uncommon there, to tie a slave up, and whip him to death.

On all occasions impartiality in the distribution of justice, should be observed. The little state of Rhode-Island, hath been reprobated by the other states, for refusing to enter into measures respecting a new general government; and so far it is admitted that she is culpable. But if she is worthy of blame in this respect, she is entitled to the highest admiration for the philanthropy, justice and humanity, she hath displayed, respecting the subject I am treating on. She hath passed an act prohibiting the importation of slaves into that state, and forbidding her citizens to engage in the iniquitous traffic. So striking a proof of her strong attachment to the rights of humanity, will rescue her name from oblivion, and bid her live in the good opinion of distant and unborn generations.

Slavery, unquestionably, should be abolished, particularly in this country; because it is inconsistent with the declared principles of the American revolution. The sooner, therefore, we set about it, the better. Either we should set all our slaves at liberty, immediately, and colonize them in the western territory; or, we should immediately take measures for the gradual abolition of it, so that it may become a known, and fixed point, that, ultimately, universal liberty, in these united states, shall triumph.—This is the least we can do, in order to evince our sense of the irreparable outrages we have committed, to wipe off the odium we have incurred, and to give mankind a confidence again, in the justice, liberality, and honour of our national proceedings.

It would not be difficult to shew, were it necessary, that America would soon become a richer and more happy country, provided this step was adopted. That corrosive anguish of persevering in any thing improper, which now embitters the enjoyment of life, would vanish as the mist of a foggy morn doth before the rising sun; and we should find as great a disparity between our present situation, and that which would succeed to it, as subsists between a cloudy winter, and

a radiant spring.—Besides, our lands would not be then cut down for the support of a numerous train of useless inhabitants—useless, I mean, to themselves, and effectually so to us, by encouraging sloth and voluptuousness among our young farmers and planters, who might otherwise know how to take care of their money, as well as how to dissipate it.—In all other respects, I conceive them to be as valuable as we are—as capable of worthy purposes, and to possess the same dignity that we do, in the estimation of providence; although, the value of their work apart, for which we are dependent on them, we generally consider them as good for nothing, and, accordingly, treat them with the greatest neglect.

But, be it remembered, that their cause is the cause of heaven; and that the Father of them as well as of us, will not fail, at a future settlement, to adjust the account between us, with a dreadful attention to justice.

O T H E L L O.

Baltimore, May 10, 1788.



A short essay on diseases from the air.

Attempting to shew that most diseases are caused by miasmata in our air; with an enumeration of some of them; and the further prosecution of this subject recommended to philosophers and physicians. By the reverend Mathew Wilson, D. D. of Lewes.

HIPPOCRATES, called the divine old man, was not ashamed most frequently to acknowledge human ignorance, and ascribe the latent causes of many diseases to the invisible powers, calling the first cause [to know] that something divine, &c. He says in one place, "A physician ought to know diseases of the same kind, how much they exceed the strength of the body; and should also learn to discover if any thing more than human be in the disease: He ought, besides, early to observe the differences of the diseases that daily reign among the people, nor be ignorant of the state of the seasons."

Honest Sydenham, who carefully investigated the genus of diseases, found, that in a particular epidemic constitution of the air, the intercur-

rent diseases partook of the nature of the reigning epidemic, though at common times entirely different in their own natures. He found also, that in the winter of 1675, all the pleuritic patients were seized with pains in the head, back, and limbs, which distinguished the then reigning fevers.

The most laborious and most useful of medical writers, baron Van Swieten, observes, "that vernal intermittents are altogether different from autumnals, and their nature, symptoms, issues, duration, and cure are utterly unlike.—The ephamera, the most simple of continual fevers, passes through its different stages, without the least danger; yet the British ephamera made great havock. Both diseases were called by the same name; the duration was the same; but they terminated very differently." He also tells us, "He has seen an epidemic pleurisy, which would not admit venesection, and the common methods of cure," &c. This I have often seen in Suffolk. Now, in all these cases, we are taught, not only the method of prudently watching nature, but a clear view of the causes of diseases, as residing in the air.

The incomparable Boerhaave (aphorisms 1406 and 1407) observes, "The cause of the variety of diseases is so latent, that physicians have not been able hitherto to deduce it from any sensible abuse of the non-naturals:—and yet, as epidemic diseases attack many at once, and may be avoided or excluded by fire, or wind, it is generally believed, that their causes reside in the air."

Hippocrates wisely said, "diseases partly arise from our way of living, and partly from the air which we breathe. When many (says he) are seized with the same disease at the same time, the cause is chiefly to be attributed to what is common to all, and made use of by all. This can only be the air, which we draw in inspiration. Our way of living is not the cause, as is apparent, since the disease attacks both young and old, men and women; those who live freely, and those who live abstemiously; those who live on mush and sowens, and those who eat bread and use wine moderately; those who use much exercise, and those who use but little; therefore

the cause cannot be in our food or manner of life, since those who live most differently and oppositely, are taken with the same diseases." Hence it is demonstrated, that the cause, however latent, of epidemic diseases reside in the air; though it is granted that errors in diet may pre-dispose the body to be more easily susceptible of the malignant fumes, and make its ravages more dreadful; so, when an English, who greedily fed on flesh, was generally perished by the sweating sickness, Caius, an English writer, declares, that the Scots and French almost wholly escaped, in the same illness. Yet the diet alone can never occasion an epidemic disorder.

Lord Bacon (the morning star of our philosophical day) observes "That wind is air itself, in a state of motion, carrying along with it every thing it contains. Hence different effects of the same kind in different places. Thus the south wind in Africa brings fair weather, and is healthy enough; but in England it is generally rainy, and if it continue long without rain, it produces malignant and dangerous fevers. Hence it appears, that by the wind, an infinity of particles may be carried from one place to another, even to the most distant. All that exhales from all bodies; all animals, dead and living; all vegetables, poisonous or salutary, sweet or corrupted; all minerals, even poisonous and sulphureous exhalations from earthquakes and volcanoes, and from the pits dug by daring men—all, all these fumes are diffused in the air, and may be wasted by it in a collected state to remote countries, or be dispersed and weakened by the winds. Therefore winds may do good, by dispersing noxious vapours, or infinite damage to mortals by conducting them in a collected state: thus plagues and pestilential fevers have spread."

In this climate, where I have practised physic largely, and kept a faithful register of the weight of the air, the heat and cold, weather and winds near thirty years, I scarce know that we have any diseases, but such as are endemic or epidemic, or at least greatly affected and influenced by the seasons, and state of the air.

Innumerable observations, in all the known world, evince, that epidemic

diseases, must arise from the air, (which may be, or hot, or cold, or infecting, or the air enters

Boerhaave of diseases, the varieties of it, which by their nature, than by a sensible operation teach

The firmness of this, and his opinion, that it is caused by the air, but what it produces the culty to ten years marked thermometers of the changes thereby origin of

Sydenham labour in that year, a sensible quality, less proof of diseases, many diseases, which heat is cold, a tirely epidemic.

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diseases, which are the chief here, must arise from miasmata unknown in the air, (whatever the state of the air may be, whether heavy or light, cold or hot, &c.) viz. impure seeds of infecting diseases; for this poisonous air enters every part of our bodies.

Boerhaave observes, "The causes of diseases reside in the air, rather from the variety of exhalations contained in it, which mix with our fluids, or by their stimulus disorder our bodies, than by any remarkable change in the sensible qualities of the air, as observation teaches."

The judicious Van Swieten confirms this doctrine from Sydenham's and his own experience. He observes, that it is evident enough, that the causes of these diseases are in the air; but what that is in the air, which produces them, is a matter of great difficulty to determine. He observes, for ten years, three times a-day, he remarked the height of the barometer, thermometer, the course and strength of the winds, the quantity of rain, changes of the air, &c. yet did not thereby gain the least knowledge of the origin of epidemic diseases.

Sydenham confesses, he also lost his labour in the same way; and observes, that years perfectly agreeing in the sensible quantities of air, were nevertheless productive of very different tribes of diseases. He further observes, that many diseases, as pleurifies and quinries, which generally proceed from sudden heat immediately following intense cold, are only intercurrents, and entirely different from the reigning epidemic.

Yet, after all, the noxious exhalations, which are mixed with the air, are altogether different from pure air itself. These causes may sometimes be discovered, but more generally are concealed from our knowledge. That grosser and more phlegmatic exhalations do sometimes mix with the air, and produce plagues, malignant fevers, and often sudden death, the natural histories of various caves, pits, fractures of mountains, earthquakes, and even mines, and the fate of miners, abundantly demonstrate.

None doubted that the plague at Vienna, A. D. 1343, was occasioned by the infectious, poisonous exhalations

of the earthquake, which immediately preceded it.

It is a well known history, that the celebrated health-restoring spring, at St. Udalrick, in the suburbs of Vienna, at the time of the plague, exhaled an infectious stench, by which we read that several thousands perished. It is indisputable, in the low and maritime countries of America and Europe, after inundations by storms, &c. when the sea brings much grass, weeds and leaves, wood, and sometimes fishes, upon the neighbouring marshes, fields and woods, corrupting in heaps, (vegetable and animal putrefaction united) that then the inhabitants are greatly afflicted with lasting and fatal epidemic fevers. Nay, even in hot weather, when there are only calms, every year, agues and remittents, &c. are produced by the putrid exhalations of stagnant waters, lakes, ponds, and morasses. [See professor Cullen and Rollo's diseases of the army, at St. Lucia, &c.]

Dr. Huxham remarks, that the earth, when frozen, emits few or no exhalations; but when thaw comes on, after a long frost, then epidemic fevers break out.

Yet, though putrid exhalations are generally noxious, one putrefaction sometimes stops or corrects another. Tanners, and those who live among the stench of rotten hides and offals, have sometimes escaped the plague.

At Lyons and Marseilles, the streets, which were narrow and dirty, suffered much less by the plague than the open and clean streets. During the plague at London, the physicians ordered all the privies and shores to be opened, when the fætid stench is said to have abated the plague. The plague at Oczakow was stopped by a violent shock of an earthquake, which perhaps then produced a cure, as others cause the plague. Sprinkling the streets with wine once stopped the plague at Athens; and the penetrating vapours exhaling from fermenting new wine, in the time of the vintage, suppressed the plague raging about the Moselle. The stench of stones, coals, store-houses of spices, and the ship-carpenters' effluvia of pitch and tar, have all been illustrious means of preserving those persons who lived among these vapours.

But here we must remark, that all epidemic diseases are not propagated by human contagion, from one human morbid body to another, though some are evidently very contagious. Van Swieten observes, that though double tertians (which emulate continual fevers, and rage among great numbers) were often epidemic, he never observed that such patients propagated infection, though they were attended with the worst symptoms, and had strong signs of malignity. He further observes, "The fevers of 1756, from the noxious effluvia of marshes, though attended with exanthemata, gangrenous blotches on the surface of the body, inflamed parotides, and other symptoms of malignity, yet were not contagious; for those who lived in a more healthy air, tho' they received the sick into their houses, were not themselves affected. If those who lived in a purer mountainous air, descended into this morbid valley, they were soon taken extremely ill; but upon their return home, did not spread the contagion."—Yet, on the other hand, it is also certain, that diseases are often caused by common or latent exhalations in the air, which so degenerate the human juices, as to propagate by mere contagion. The small-pox, plague, and fluxes in armies and countries, are a sufficient demonstration of this.

Seeing, then, the causes of diseases are chiefly in the air, and these miasmata seem to be of very different substances, sizes, and angles, it surely must be very ridiculous for young physicians to contend, that one is for Boerhaave, and Swieten, another for Cullen, or any other distinguished name. Boerhaave, indeed, supposed generally the fluids to be most affected, and Cullen the solids, or nervous system. Yet both these professors owned that both fluids and solids were soon affected, and Boerhaave speaks doubtful [aphorism 1408] whether these miasmata affect the fluids or the solids by their stimulus in the first instance. But what advantage arises from the discovery?—The works of Boerhaave and Van Swieten must defy the teeth of time, as they contain all the history of diseases, and all that have proved remedies, or injuries, from the early ages of the world. And what can we

have more?—They have collected all physical knowledge. Rather than attempt to villify the hard-earned knowledge, by experience of almost three thousand years, let us labour to find preventives and remedies of these seeds of death that mingle with our air.*

That I may contribute my mite, in this obscure, yet most important en-

NOTE.

* When I consider in what manner physic is very commonly practised, I deeply feel for the wretchedness of our people. Many youths who have had a smattering of learning, being put apprentices, neither read and learn the histories, causes, and cures of diseases, in every country of the world, with the different symptoms and combinations, in the different places and seasons; nor the diseases and connections of all the parts of the human body. Others, without learning, virtue, and every degree of medical knowledge, on being perhaps only surgeon's mates in an army or armed vessel, set up for physicians, having nothing to recommend them besides effrontery and false boasting; with the knowledge of heaping up medicines, sometimes pernicious, and making extravagant bills to squeeze the last penny from the poor widows and fatherless. For the honour of human nature, and the great safety of my country, I earnestly wish that every legislature would enact laws to stop this growing evil.

Let it therefore be considered, whether every candidate, for physic, should not be well taught in the Latin, and Greek languages; whether mathematics and natural history be not absolutely necessary; and whether seven years, at least five years, to the best geniuses, of greatest application, after the public lectures, be not necessary to the study and practice of physic, before any man obtain the title or business of a physician.

Objection. But mechanics often discover good remedies. Answer. Well, let them be rewarded. But though they have a specific for one, out of an hundred species of the same disease, they cannot be trusted in any of the rest, much less in a thousand or other different original diseases.

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quiry, permit me to enumerate some things which have infected or poisoned our air, as *miasmata* from grosser bodies; and then the more subtle effects of Plato's subtle matter, not belonging to the Newtonian system, but now well demonstrated by the name of electricity.

As to the first kind, chemistry has discovered many vapours very noxious to human nature, even from gross bodies. In burning of combustible bodies into flame, smoke, soot and ashes, certain corpuscles are emitted, a fench separable from the smoke, supposed to consist of the volatile salt of the plant, wasted into the air, and spirits, from the action of the fire; which fumes produce wonderful effects on our bodies. Hence erosions in the eyes, the lungs grow hoarse, and the voice harsh. Hypochondriac and hysterical persons, and those labouring under convulsive asthma, are nearly strangled by such exhalations. Even the fumes of a candle or lamp, extinguished in a close place, have excited convulsions in epileptic persons, and sometimes abortion, and often palpitations of heart, &c. Some bodies thrown on the fire emit exhalations greatly poisonous, as the toxico-dendron, which turns all the company round the fire pale, as if they were dead, and, if the place be close, they fall into many mortal diseases.

It is related of a military officer, that he killed all his company by throwing something on the fire; though it did no hurt to handle or carry it. Sometimes even dough of bread, baked and opened in a close place, is reported to be deadly; and roasting coffee, in a confined air, has produced cardialgia and vomiting. What mischiefs, then, may not arise from burning weeds, often poisonous, to defend against musketoes, &c. ? so burning the woods, morasses, &c. may cause many fevers.

And, in thirty years observation, I am convinced, that when the weather is long calm, and the air filled with a vapour-like smoke, the most malignant diseases begin and rage most in Suflex.

Burn sixty pounds of wood in open air, and you have but one pound of ashes, nor can the other pounds be collected by any art: all these exhalations mix with our air, and their effects

are dangerous, though unheeded. But, by burning it in a chemical vessel, Van Helmont and professor Boerhaave found an eternal coal, which it is not possible to consume without open air; but this coal, extinguished in a close room, brings our bodies to death itself; of which many lamented examples have happened in my time.

That some vapour, or *miasmata*, fly from burning charcoal, appears from holding a paper over it, written with solution of ointment; for then only will the writing turn black. Set charcoal on fire in a large room, but shut close, and all the animals in it will die; yet this is not from heat, for the room may be cold; but from the air—either by its destroying something in the air (perhaps electricity or nitre) or else by some poisonous vapour from an innocent body, now deleterious by the force of fire.

Van Helmont, when an old man, finding his ink froze, called for a chafing dish of coals, by which he fell down, and was carried out as dead. Here all the actions of the man were in a moment suspended by the exhalation, which he calls the gas of the wooden coal.

Boerhaave relates many examples of himself and others, and proposes it as the only ready and best remedy, to sprinkle the face and breast with cold water. So of other poisonous vapour, as the grotto del cani, throwing the seemingly dead animal into cold water, if it be not too late, brings again circulation and life.

There are yet many other deadly exhalations from gross bodies, already discovered, as from new built houses, or places white washed with lime, and perhaps the vapour from new painted walls, may be no better. These bring on palsies, and other fatal, commonly incurable, diseases.

So burning the bones, wings, shells, hoofs, and other parts of animals produces so fatal a vapour, as to kill all insects, fleas, chintzes, &c. if the room be only moderately shut up. Boerhaave, I think, tells us of a whole company swooning away by the exhalation of a dog killed by 146 degrees of heat, by the thermometer. If such fatal vapours arise from seemingly harmless vegetables, &c. it is not to be wondered that more dreadful should

arise from fossils. So, cobalt, put upon the fire, raises a thick white vapour, which concretes to the ceiling of a room the strongest poison we know, viz. white arsenic. These vapours even by smelling, kill every kind of animal. If these are raised by subterraneous heat and earthquakes, it will not be wondrous, if death, quicker than the plague, ensues.

I need not add to these, that the vapour of saltpetre, sea salt, and sulphur, raised by the fire, produces vapours that corrode all metals themselves, and destroy all things that have animal life. Hence evidently appears the inexpressible usefulness of the winds, in preserving the lives of men and other animals. For a wind, arising at the place where any of the poisonous vapours happen, presently disperses them from that place, scatters the fatal *miasmata*, weakens their power of mischief, or at least carries them to some other part. To have an idea how the winds dispose of them, we need only look at the wreaths of snow, totally carried from the open fields, and thrown in heaps, where an eddy is made by the obstruction of the blast. In like manner, the deadly exhalations are often stopt and collected in vallies, and sometimes in the suburbs of cities, while the winds have cleared them from the populous part of the town. I would not detain the reader longer. I must not stay to mention the undetermined classes of vegetable poisons, which generally very greatly affect the *liquidum nervosum* and common sensory. How greatly these may affect our atmosphere, is yet unexplored, though some of them we know in some degree. I have somewhere read of two gentlemen at the Hague, who, on tasting only the root of the oenanthe, which resembles hemlock, were seized with great heat of the throat and stomach; then followed vertigo, heart-burn, nausea, and flux of the belly, bleeding at the nose, loss of reason, and violent convulsions, so that both were dead in three hours. On touching napellus, or monks-hood, with the tip of the tongue, the unwary feels pleasure, but soon falls into disorders of the brain, &c. Tobacco at first has some like influence. All know, deadly night-shade and its beautiful berries soon kill. Water hem-

lock, in very small quantity, changes all the animal functions, raises horrible imaginations and convulsions, ending life in three or four hours. Thorn-apple, or James-town weed, so common at every door, has like effects, but not so quickly. Henbane seeds render delirious, and destroy every animal power in a short time, &c. &c. But let us proceed very briefly.

The last thing I proposed to mention was electricity, as having very great effects on the air, respecting health and sickness. There is nothing new under the sun. How often has the great Plato, and his subtle matter, and Cartesius, who established subtle matter too, been calumniated and abused, even by great Newtonian philosophers, and especially by their too sanguine pupils! Yet now subtle matter, by electric experiments, is clearly demonstrated, which, I venture to foretell, will soon be discovered to be either gravitation, or a superior principle of nature; nay, with Plato, a fifth element. If its power increases the more the nearer the sun, as is said to be proved; and if its power is so great in our earth, why may it not be strong enough at the sun to attract and repel comets and worlds, &c.? If professor Saussure and M. Telabert were so electrified that flashes darted from their fingers in crossing the Alps, what may be at the centre of the sun, 94,790,550 English miles distant? [See prof. Ewing's transit of Venus]

Mr. Brydson, F. R. S. in his tour through Sicily and Malta, observes, that the so highly electric, is the vapour of volcanoes; that it has been observed in some eruptions, both of *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, that the whole tract of smoke, which sometimes extended above an hundred miles, produced the most dreadful effects,—killing shepherds and flocks on the mountains, blasting trees, and setting fire to houses; the red forked lightning darting from the smoke, &c. so highly electrical are both the crater and the smoke. Yet, to this cause he ascribes the amazing fertility and wonderful vegetation round Mount *Ætna*. “For, from a variety of experiments (says he) it has been found, that an increase of the electrical matter adds much to the progress of vegetation.”

[See Tiberius Cuvall's complete electricity]

The experiment of electrifying a small capillary syphon, by which, from only slowly dropping, it runs into a full stream, together with the general consent of all, who have tried it, seems to prove that it greatly quickens circulation, and drives the animal juices through the smallest and remotest capillary vessels, with greater ease and celerity; hence many obstructions have been removed. All know the great benefit of friction, flannel, and rubbing with silk or flannel; but the late discoveries of electricians shew, that these gymnastic exercises only collect more of the electric fire to that part of the body.

Some have thought, that the electric fluid is (and performs the parts ascribed to) the nervous fluid, the nerves being conductors. However that be, it cannot be doubted, that the disorders, commonly called nervous, as the hypochondria, hysterics, &c. &c. are greatly affected by electricity, and owing to the want of a sufficient quantity of this animating and cheering fluid. All such patients are affected with very uneasy sensations, in a moist air, which carries the electric fire away from them; but when the sun shines, and the damp is fled, that is, when the air again is full of electricity, how cheerful—how revived! All nature rejoices. Though there has been found an instance or two, of persons too full of this fluid; yet this is easily removed, and is a rare case indeed; easily known by emitting sparks of fire, (which I have also seen) and curable by a change of dress. Electricity is now considered by many as a subtle active soul, that pervades and quickens, nay, is the great vivifying principle of nature, and source of our sensibility. When electricity is suspended, as by the sirocco wind, and the air seems totally deprived of it, the whole animal system is unstrung; all strength and activity is lost; the animal spirits are totally languid, and the nerves want all tension and elasticity; all animals droop and languish, till the electric fluid again returns with a pleasant breeze, to restore the tone, and enliven all nature.—Brydone.

I have only thrown together these

thoughts, for the students of electricity, as they appear founded on real experiments, that gentlemen of leisure and capacity may carry them much farther.

Is it not reasonable hence to suppose, that, by electrical means, the state of the air may be tried, if the particular poisonous exhalations cannot be easily determined? And if it is found unhealthy, may not means be found, by electrifying bodies so highly, that, by repeated shocks, the air may be purified? And may not sometimes fires of odoriferous woods, as guaiacum, the American turpentine, &c. be tried? May not great ventilators be also invented? And, to all these, may not acid fermentations be added? And may not the want of a sufficient quantity, in invalids, of the vivifying electricity, be remedied by cork soles, well filled with bees wax, in their shoes, their heads covered with dry silk caps, and their bodies covered with dry flannel, and then dry silk; which strong repellents might retain an electric vortex or atmosphere about them?

This cannot be called a new system of physic, though perhaps it as much deserves the name, as some publications, which have been called new theories, of late. I only wish to bring back the students of the healing art to follow nature, and still more and more endeavour to advance our honourable art, in procuring the health and happiness of our own species.

Lewes, Feb. 14, 1786.



Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.

LETTER VI.

(Continued from page 363.)

SOME of our fellow-citizens have ventured to predict the future fate of united America, if the system proposed to us, shall be adopted.

Though every branch of the constitution and government is to be popular, and guarded by all the balances, that, until this day, have occurred to mankind, yet the system will end, they say, in the oppression of a monarchy or aristocracy, by the federal servants, or some of them.

Such a conclusion seems not in any manner suited to the premises. It

startles, yet, not so much from its novelty, as from the respectability of the characters by which it is drawn.

We must not be too much influenced by our esteem for those characters; but should recollect, that when the fancy is warmed, and the judgment inclined, by the proximity or pressure of particular objects, very extraordinary declarations are sometimes made. Such are the frailties of our nature, that genius and integrity not unfrequently afford no protection against them.

Probably, there never was, nor never will be, such an instance of dreadful denunciation, concerning the fate of a country, as was published while the union was in agitation between England and Scotland. The English were for a joint legislature, many of the Scots for separate legislatures, and urged, that they should be in a manner swallowed up and lost in the other, as then they would not possess one eleventh part in it.

Upon that occasion, lord Belhaven, one of the most distinguished orators of the age, made in the Scottish parliament a famous speech, of which the following extract is part:—

“My lord chancellor,

“When I consider this affair of an union between the two nations, as it is expressed in the several articles thereof, and now the subject of our deliberation at this time, I find my mind crouded with a variety of very melancholy thoughts; and I think it my duty to disburden myself of some of them, by laying them before and exposing them to the serious consideration of this honourable house.

“I think, I see a free and independent kingdom delivering up that, which all the world hath been fighting for, since the days of Nimrod; yea that, for which most of all the empires, kingdoms, states, principalities, and dukedoms of Europe, are at this time engaged in the most bloody and cruel wars that ever were; to wit, a power to manage their own affairs by themselves, without the assistance and council of any other.

“I think, I see a national church, founded upon a rock, secured by a claim of right, hedged and fenced about by the strictest and pointedest legal sanction that sovereignty could contrive, voluntarily descending into

a plain, upon an equal level with Jews, papists, locinians, arminians, anabaptists, and other sectaries, &c.

“I think, I see the noble and honourable peerage of Scotland, whose valiant predecessors led armies against their enemies upon their own proper charges and expences, now divested of their followers and vassalages, and put upon such an equal foot with their vassals, that I think, I see a petty English excisemen receive more homage and respect, than what was paid formerly to their *quondam Machallamors*.

“I think, I see the present peers of Scotland, whose noble ancestors conquered provinces, over-run countries, reduced and subjected towns and fortified places, exacted tribute through the greatest part of England, now walking in the court of requests, like so many English attorneys, laying aside their walking swords, when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be found murder.

“I think, I see the honourable estate of barons, the bold asserters of the nation's rights and liberties in the worst of times, now setting a watch upon their lips and a guard upon their tongues, lest they be found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*.

“I think, I see the royal state of boroughs, walking their desolate streets, hanging down their heads, under disappointments; wormed out of all the branches of their old trade, uncertain what hand to turn to, necessitated to become 'prentices to their unkind neighbours, and yet, after all, finding their trade so fortified by companies, and secured by prescriptions, that they despair of any success therein.

“I think, I see our learned judges laying aside their practiques and decisions, studying the common law of England, gravelled with *certioraris*, *nisi prius*, writs of error, verdicts, *ejectiones firmæ*, injunctions, *demurrers*, &c. and frightened with appeals and advocations, because of the new regulations, and rectifications they meet with.

“I think, I see the valiant and gallant soldiery, either sent to learn the plantation trade abroad, or at home petitioning for a small subsistence, as the reward of their ho-

nourable exploits, while their old corps are broken, the common soldiers left to beg, and the youngest English corps kept standing.

"I think, I see the honest industrious tradesman loaded with new taxes and impositions, disappointed of the equivalents, drinking water in place of ale, eating his saltless pottage, petitioning for encouragement to his manufactures, and answered by counter petitions.

"In short, I think I see the laborious ploughman, with his corn spoiling on his hands for want of sale, cursing the day of his birth; dreading the expence of his burial, and uncertain whetherto marry, or do worse.

"I think I see the incurable difficulties of landed men, fettered under the golden chain of equivalents, their pretty daughters petitioning for want of husbands, and their sons for want of employments.

"I think, I see our mariners delivering up their ships to their Dutch partners, and what through presses and necessity, earning their bread as underlings in the English navy. But above all, my lord, I think, I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with her royal garment, attending the fatal blow, and breathing out her last with a—*Et tu quoque, mi fili.*

"Are not these, my lord, very afflicting thoughts? And yet they are the least part suggested to me by these dishonourable articles. Should not the considerations of these things vivify these dry bones of ours? Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valour and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our noble predecessors' souls got so far into the English cabbage stocks and colliflowers, that we should shew the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded? Are our ears so deafened? Are our hearts so hardened? Are our tongues so faultered? Are our hands so fettered? that in this our day, I say, my lord, that in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the very being, and well being of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes?

"When I consider this treaty as it

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hath been explained, and spoke to, before us these three weeks by past; I see the English constitution remaining firm, the same two houses of parliament, the same taxes, the same customs, the same excises, the same trading companies, the same municipal laws and courts of judicature; and all ours either subject to regulations or annihilations, only we are to have the honour to pay their old debts, and to have some few persons present for witnesses to the validity of the deed, when they are pleased to contract more."

Let any candid American deliberately compare that transaction with the present, and laying his hand upon his heart, solemnly answer this question to himself—Whether he does not verily believe the eloquent peer before mentioned, had tenfold more cause to apprehend evils from such an unequal match between the two kingdoms, than any citizen of these states has to apprehend them from the system proposed? Indeed not only that peer, but other persons of distinction, and large numbers of the people of Scotland were filled with the utmost aversion to the union; and if the greatest diligence and prudence had not been employed by its friends in removing misapprehensions and refusing misrepresentations, and by the then subsisting government, for preserving the public peace, there would certainly have been a rebellion.

Yet, what were the consequences to Scotland of that dreaded union with England?—the cultivation of her virtues and the correction of her errors—the emancipation of one class of her citizens from the yoke of their superiors—a relief of other classes from the injuries and insults of the great—improvements in agriculture, science, arts, trade, and manufactures—the profits of industry and ingenuity enjoyed under the protection of laws,—peace, and security at home—and increase of respectability abroad. Her church is still eminent—Her laws and courts of judicature are safe—Her boroughs grown into cities—Her mariners and soldiery possessing a larger subsistence than she could have afforded them, and her tradesmen, ploughmen, landed men, and her people of every rank, in a more flourishing condition,

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not only than they ever were, but in a more flourishing condition, than the clearest understanding could, at the time, have thought it possible for them to attain in so short a period, or even in many ages. England participated in the blessings. The stock of their union, or ingraftment, as perhaps it may be called, being strong, and capable of drawing better nutriment and in greater abundance, than they could ever have done apart.

"Ere long, to heav'n, the soaring branches shoot,
"And wonder at their height, and more than native fruit."

Philadelphia, April 23, 1788.

LETTER VII.

THUS happily mistaken was the ingenious, learned, and patriotic lord Belhaven, in his prediction concerning the fate of his country; and thus happily mistaken, it is hoped, some of our fellow-citizens will be, in their predictions concerning the fate of their country.

Had they taken larger scope, and assumed in their proposition the vicissitude of human affairs, and the passions that so often confound them, their predictions might have been a tolerably good guess. Amidst the mutabilities of terrestrial things, the liberty of united America may be destroyed. As to that point, it is our duty, humbly, constantly, fervently, to implore the protection of our most gracious Maker, "who doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men," and incessantly to strive, as we are commanded, to recommend ourselves to that protection, by "doing his will," diligently exercising our reason in fulfilling the purposes for which that and our existence were given to us.

How the liberty of this country is to be destroyed, is another question. Here, the gentlemen assign a cause, in no manner proportioned, as it is apprehended, to the effect.

The uniform tenor of history is against them. That holds up the licentiousness of the people, and turbulent temper of some of the states, as the only causes to be dreaded, not the conspiracies of federal officers. Therefore, it is highly probable, that, if ever our liberty is subverted, it will be by one of the two causes first men-

tioned. Our tragedy will then have the same acts, with those of the nations that have gone before us; and we shall add one more example to the number already too great, of a people that would not take warning, nor "know the things which belong to their peace." But, we ought not to pass such a sentence against our country, and the interests of freedom; though, no sentence whatever can be equal to the atrocity of our guilt, if, through enormity of obliquity or baseness, we betray the cause of our posterity and of mankind, by providence committed to our parental and fraternal care.—There is reason to believe, that the calamities of nations are punishments of their sins.

As to the first mentioned cause, it seems unnecessary to say any more upon it.

As to the second, we find, that the misbehaviour of the constituent parts acting separately, or in partial confederacies, debilitated the Greeks under "the amphictionic council," and under the Achæan league, and that this misbehaviour ruined Greece. As to the former, it was not entirely an assembly of strictly democratical republics. Besides, it wanted a sufficiently close connection of parts. Tyrants and aristocracies sprung up. After their observations, we may call our attention from it.

'Tis true, the Achæan league was disturbed, by the misconduct of some parts, but, it is as true, that it surmounted these difficulties, and wonderfully prospered, until it was dissolved in the manner that has been described.

The glorious operations of its principles bear the clearest testimony to this distant age and people, that the wit of man never invented such an antidote against monarchical and aristocratical projects, as a strong combination of truly democratical republics. By strictly or truly democratical republics, the writer means republics, in which all the officers are from time to time chosen by the people.

The reason is plain. As liberty and equality, or, as termed by Polybius, benignity, were the foundations of their institutions, and the energy of the government pervaded all the parts, in things relating to the whole, it counteracted, for the common welfare,

the designs hatched by selfishness in separate councils.

If folly or wickedness prevailed in any parts, friendly offices and salutary measures restored tranquility. Thus the public good was maintained. In its very formation, tyrannies and aristocracies submitted, by consent or compulsion. Thus, the Ceraunians, Trezenians, Epidaurians, Megalopolitans, Argives, Hermionians, and Phlyagiens, were received into the league. A happy exchange ! for history informs us, that so true were they to their noble and benevolent principles, that, in their diet, "no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interest of each part so consulted, as to leave no room for complaints."

How degrading would be the thought to a citizen of united America, that the people of these states, with imitations beyond comparison preferable to those of the Achæan league, and so vast a superiority in other respects, should not have wisdom and virtue enough, to manage their affairs with as much prudence and affection of one for another, as these ancients did !

Would this be doing justice to our country ? the composition of her temper is excellent, and seems to be acknowledged equal to that of any nation in the world. Her prudence will guard its warmth against two faults, to which it may be exposed—the one, an imitation of foreign fashions, which from small things may lead to great. May her citizens aspire at a national dignity in every part of conduct, private, as well as public ! This will be influenced by the former. May simplicity be the characteristic feature of their manners, which, inlaid in their other virtues and their forms of government, may then indeed be compared, in the eastern stile, to "apples of gold, in pictures of silver." Thus will they long, and may they, while their rivers run, escape the contagion of luxury—the issue of innocence debauched by folly, and the lineal predecessor of tyranny. The other fault, of which, as yet, there are no symptoms among us, is the thirst of empire. This is a vice, that ever has been, and, from the nature of things, ever must be, fatal to republican forms of

government. Our wants are sources of happiness : our desires, of misery. The abuse of prosperity, is rebellion against heaven ; and succeeds accordingly.

Do the propositions of gentlemen who object, offer to our view, any of the great points upon which, the fate, fame, or freedom of nations has turned, excepting what some of them have said about trial by jury, which has been frequently and fully answered ? Is there one of them calculated to regulate, and, if needful, to controul, those tempers and measures of constituent parts of an union, that have been so baneful to the weal of every confederacy that has existed ? Do not some of them tend to enervate the authority evidently designed thus to regulate and controul ? Do not others of them discover a bias in their advocates to particular connexions, that, if indulged to them, would enable persons of less understanding and virtue, to repeat the disorders, that have so often violated public peace and honour ? Taking them all together, would they afford as strong a security to our liberty, as the frequent election of the federal officers by the people, and the repartition of power among those officers, according to the proposed system ?

It may be answered, that they would be an additional security. In reply, let the writer be permitted at present to refer to what has been said.

The principal argument of gentlemen who object, involves a direct proof of the point contended for by the writer of this address, and, as far as it may be supposed to be founded, a plain confirmation of historic evidence.

They generally agree, that the great danger of a monarchy or aristocracy among us, will arise from the federal senate.

The members of this senate, are to be chosen by men exercising the sovereignty of their respective states. These men, therefore, must be monarchically or aristocratically disposed, before they will choose federal senators thus disposed ; and what merits particular attention, is, that these men must have obtained an overbearing influence in their respective states, before they could with such disposition arrive at the exercise of the sove-

reignty in them : or else, the like disposition must be prevalent among the people of such states.

Taking the case either way, is not this a disorder in parts of the union, and ought it not to be rectified by the rest ? Is it reasonable to expect, that the disease will seize all at the same time ? If it is not, ought not the sound to possess a right and power, by which they may prevent the infection from spreading ?

From the annals of mankind, these conclusions are deducible,—that states together may act prudently and honestly, and apart foolishly and knavishly ; but, that it is a defiance of all probability, to suppose, that states conjointly shall act with folly and wickedness, and yet separately with wisdom and virtue. **FABIUS,**

Philadelphia, April 26, 1788.

Address to his excellency Samuel Johnson, esq. governor of the state of North Carolina and president of the late convention held at Hillsborough.

WE, the undersigned citizens of the town of Tarborough, impressed with the liveliest sense of the important motives which influenced the wise and virtuous members of the grand federal convention, held at Philadelphia, beg leave to approach your excellency, and express our sincere approbation of the zeal you have displayed, to connect the state of North Carolina to the general union, and to those blessings and happy consequences we expect to flow from a free and energetic government. It is a duty we owe to ourselves, our country and posterity, to publish every testimony of reprobation of the unhappy issue of that public measure which claimed the attention of our late convention in Hillsborough, and to record also our unequivocal applause, of the virtue, patriotism, and exertions, of eighty-two statesmen, whose wisdom and characters, we trust, will yet preserve all that we conceive precious in this life, to ourselves, and future generations.

United in the principles of your excellency, we contemplated with emotions of pleasure and regret, this small, but wise and firm band, struggling against a torrent of popular phrenzy,

excited evidently to extinguish whatever hope remained to restore public faith, revive commerce, and promote agriculture ; and though their efforts proved unsuccessful, they are not less entitled to our gratitude ; at least, their exertions, and the federal principles of our numerous adherents, may preserve us from indiscriminate odium, and probably recommend us at some future hour of calmness and moderation, to our place in the united government, the only rock of salvation on which we can repose with confidence and safety. Well assured that the most discerning of the majority, began now to comprehend the danger in which their conduct was calculated to involve their country, themselves, and their fellow citizens—we publish this declaration of our principles, determined to rise and fall with the union of America ; supplicating your excellency to employ all the constitutional means and influence in your power, to convince the adopting states, or their executives, that North Carolina ought not to be included in general crimination, but that a considerable part of her most respectable citizens are still attached to a federal system, from persuasion, that from it alone they can expect exemption from domestic insurrection, defence from foreign invasion, and continuance of the blessing of peace and general prosperity.

Tarborough, Aug. 20, 1788.

ANSWER.

To the inhabitants of the town of Tarborough.

Gentlemen,
YOU will be pleased to accept my sincere and grateful thanks for your very polite and patriotic address of the 20th of August last, handed me this day.

Your approbation of the conduct of the minority in the late convention at Hillsborough, must be highly pleasing to them under the painful disappointment of their endeavours to avoid a separation from the council of the united states.

It gives me pleasure to hear from you, " that the most discerning of the majority, now begin to comprehend the dangers in which their conduct was calculated to involve their country." Impressed with such sen-

ments, there is every reason to hope that they will pursue the most effectual means, as soon as possible, to replace this state in the union, in which situation alone she can appear respectable.

I am well assured that the citizens of this state, were at no time averse to a federal government; but the proffered system appearing to many not so perfect as they could wish, and believing that amendments might more certainly be obtained by postponing the ratification, till after the proposed amendments were considered by a general convention, they adopted the measures which you so highly disapprove. These measures were opposed by the minority, who offered reasons in support of their opinion, which, I flatter myself, on a cool and deliberate investigation, will have the weight and influence, which it is to be lamented they had not at an earlier period.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost consideration and regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed)

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

Edenton, September 3, 1788.



Address of the justices of the court of Abbeville, to the people living on Nolichucky, French-Broad, and Holstein.

WE have lately, through various channels, received information that the Cherokees, on your side of the mountains, have received many injuries, and suffered very great calamities, from some among you, who pretend to act by the authority of your government, or with the general approbation of the people in your settlement.

While the head men from High-washe were coming to meet in a conference, to which they were invited, a party from your settlement went round, and murdered seven of the Indians, who were peaceably working in their cornfields; nine also were murdered at Chilhowee—thirty have been slaughtered on the Senaece, and one made a prisoner;—the inhabitants of Chota and five other towns have been forced, by the outrages commit-

ted on them, to abandon their settlements and their crops of corn, and fly to this side of the mountain, for peace and protection. A friendly letter was written to them, requesting them to return and live again in their towns, and also to send in a runner, with a white flag, which they were told was sacred by the law of nations. A few days after this, a party from among you, came to Cuttico, and there murdered two Indians—men who had remained in their houses. The party then proceeded to Chilhowee, and raised a white flag; on which the Old Tassel, Old Abraham, his son, and the Leech, Indian chiefs, remarkable for their good offices and fidelity in the darkest situation of our affairs, raised a flag on their part, and came out; they came under the protection of a flag of truce, a protection inviolable even amongst the most barbarous people, and in the character of ambassadors, a character held sacred by the law and custom of nations, and by the consent of mankind in every age; but under this character, and with the sacred protection of a flag, they were attacked and murdered.

Your bosoms will, no doubt, burn with resentment at the recital of those unprovoked injuries, as ours did when we received the information—information which we are grieved to find too well authenticated. The objects of these murders and massacres were an harmless and peaceable, and almost defenceless people; circumstances which give them a just claim to the compassion of every humane and noble mind; and it is unworthy that American valour and heroism, which bled in the cause of liberty, and defended it when attacked by the most formidable power, to kill and plunder a few naked unarmed savages, who wish for nothing but to possess their lands, and hold their vendition in peace. They are also a free and independent nation, to whom the protection of the united States has been granted, for their freedom and possession, by the most solemn treaties; and they are our allies and friends—friends who adhered to us in the darkest season of our affairs, when the other Indian tribes, and even a great part of this nation, united against us, to aid the British in their attempts to lay the yoke of slavery on our necks.—These people have also constantly tes-

tified the most friendly disposition towards your settlements; and when attacks have been meditated, or expeditions set on foot against you by the Creeks, have given you timely warning of the danger.

Far be it from us, to imagine that these wanton and inhuman injuries to peaceable and faithful allies—these unmanly attacks upon unarmed and unsuspecting savages—these violations of treaties, infractions of the law of nations and rights of men, and wanton outrages on the feelings of humanity—have been perpetrated by the order, with the approbation, or even knowledge of the whole people whom we now address: you feel, no less warmly than we do, the indignation and horror which such conduct ought to inspire in generous and noble minds; but all people have bad men among them; therefore it is highly incumbent, that the virtuous and considerate part of the community watch over the actions of the undeserving, to prevent them from involving their country in calamities, to gratify their own base and unworthy passions.

By a strict search you may find out the persons who come within the above description; and you are bound, by every tie of justice and honour, duty and sound policy, to restrain such as they are, from similar conduct in future. This is what the Indians themselves have done, in lately sentencing to death one of their people, who was concerned in killing a white man belonging to this state.

We, therefore, being citizens of the united states with yourselves, anticipate the evils that must necessarily flow from the impropriety of passing unnoticed such misconduct in a few individuals, acting from the meanest and basest motives, and which, as far as is known to us, appears to be totally unprovoked on the part of the Cherokees, and which may tend to defeat the treaty now on foot between the Creeks and Georgians, under the auspices of congress; and which, from the just and peaceable dispositions of the Indian chiefs, gives us reason to hope for the most happy effects.

We flatter ourselves this letter will have its due effect, in preventing such disorders for the future, as we can assure you, on our parts, it proceeds

from our sincere affection towards you, and a wish to restore peace and tranquility to all parties.

We have the honour to be,
very respectfully, &c.

John Bowie, Patrick Calhoun,
Charles Goodwin, Andrew Pickens,
R. A. Repley, Robert Anderson,
R. G. Harper, William Baskin,
William Shaw, A. Hamilton,
A. C. Jones, James Lincoln.
Abbeville county, South Carolina,
July 9, 1788.

Association of the merchants of Philadelphia, to prevent smuggling, entered into, June 1786.

WHEREAS there is reason to believe that in some late instances the revenue has been defrauded of the duties payable on the importation of merchandise into this state; the subscribers, merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, do hereby declare their entire disapprobation of such practices, which, by depriving the state of its revenue, may disable it from doing justice to the public creditors, and materially injure the fair trader. And as these pernicious practices admit of no palliation from any consideration that the monies arising from the impost are to be applied without our consent, to the benefit of foreign masters, so they must be in the highest degree dishonourable and immoral.

The subscribers therefore pledge themselves to the public, and to one another, that they will not only avoid in themselves the practice they reprobate, but will expose it in others, whenever it shall come to their knowledge.

Petition of the society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America, to the honourable the senate, and the honourable house of representatives, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

THE society for propagating the gospel among the Indians and others in North America, beg leave to shew, that one design of our venerable fathers in emigrating to this land, was professedly to extend the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer among

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the savage natives; that this design was expressed and enjoined under both the charters granted by the parent state to this colony; and is, in the opinion of the society, necessary and suitable at all times to be pursued by a people who profess christianity.

That the end for which this society was instituted by the legislature, was to attend to this important circumstance, and prove to the European world, who are at a great expence in pursuing this object among us, that we were not inattentive to it. It is the desire, the design, and the ambition of the society, to pursue the ends and purposes, for which they were incorporated.

The want of funds alone prevents them from exerting themselves in propagating the gospel among the Indians, and extending the means of christian knowledge among those of the inhabitants of this land who are now destitute of them.

They humbly request your honours to recommend to his excellency the governor to issue a brief, to be read in all the churches of this commonwealth, requesting the aid of all piously disposed persons, in carrying on this truly benevolent design, and asking their contributions, in specie, public securities, or any other property, to enable the society to send the knowledge of our glorious Redeemer, among those who are now perishing for lack of vision, and to extend the means of instruction to our fellow citizens in the eastern and other parts of the state, who are now destitute of them.

The society are not insensible of the difficulties and embarrassments of the present day, and they are sorry to ask the aid of their fellow citizens at a time so distressing, but they cannot be easy to remain any longer inactive from pursuing the great objects of their appointment. The collections upon this occasion will be free, and they do not wish them to be so large as to cause distress to any. A mite thrown into the treasury of the society by every individual in the state, would amount to a large sum, and would enable them to publish the glad tidings of great joy among those who are now sitting in darkness, and in the region of the shadow of death.

Your honours will pardon the so-

ciety for addressing you on this occasion, and requesting this favour at your hands; they can scarcely suppose, however, an apology to be necessary for applying to christian rulers upon a subject which relates so immediately to the honour of the Author and Finisher of our faith. Your honours will be pleased to observe, that the society are not asking a favour for themselves, but are supplicating for those, who now suffer in their interest: they are beseeching your honours to pursue a design, of which our venerable fathers never lost sight, and to do what may be highly acceptable to that being, upon whom the welfare of states and empires essentially depends.

They take the liberty to observe, that the peace and harmony which prevailed in general between the Indians bordering on the northern states of the union, and the citizens thereof, during the late war, may in a good measure be attributed to the exertions of the missionaries who were supported among them; and that perhaps it may not now be an object of less political consequence, to continue and encourage their exertions, as the British are practising every art to induce the Indians to retire from among us, into the more interior parts of the continent, that they may secure to themselves exclusively the benefits of the fur trade, and their alliance in any future rupture.

The society cannot doubt the attention of the honourable court to a subject so important; they hope for a compliance with their request, and as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

In the name and by order of the society,

Francis Dana,
Edward Wigglesworth,
Peter Thacher.



Instructions to the deputies appointed by the citizens of Northumberland county, to attend the conference at Lancaster, on the first Monday in November, 1788, to recommend proper persons to represent the state of Pennsylvania in the lower house of the new congress.

Gentlemen,

IN your attendance at the conference to be held at Lancaster, on

the first Monday in November next, for the purpose of recommending proper persons to represent this state in the new congress, we desire you to pay attention to the following instructions :

Let integrity and decency of character be considered as the first qualification—industry and application to business as the second. No brilliancy of talents, or shew of knowledge, should atone for the want of the above qualities. Thirdly, extensive information, and some degree of practice in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, with a general knowledge of the laws of the land, are necessary. But as it may be objected, that men qualified in all the above respects, cannot easily be found—and that different men adapted to the different interells must be chosen, we recommend something of the following kind :

That two able merchants, who may attend to the interells of commerce, one person remarkably attached to the principles of manufactures, and an eminent law character, with four substantial yeomen, should form our representation in congress.

Although as Pennsylvanians we declare ourselves actuated by one common interest, and abhor every idea of national distinction ; yet as a respectable body of our fellow citizens speak the German language, we are of opinion, that a part of the representation should be qualified to do business in that language ; and accordingly recommend this subject as a matter worthy of your attention.

W. MACLAY, chairman.

October 16, 1788.

A proclamation by the president and supreme executive council of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

AS the best and greatest of beings commanded mankind into existence with a capacity for happiness, bestowing upon them understanding and many “good gifts,” so when they, by an abuse of the blessings thus entrusted, had involved themselves in guilt and misery, his compassion was extended towards them, and in “his tender mercies,” not only “feed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night,” were continued unto them, but “the

eternal purposes” were revealed, and the heavenly treasures opened, to restore the human race to the transcendent privilege from which by transgression they were fallen : and in this “marvellous work,” the laws of righteousness have been with such infinite wisdom adjusted, and united to the obligations of nature, that while they jointly tend to promote the felicity of men in a future state, they evidently co-operate to advance their welfare in the present : and to offend against the sanctions of revelation, or the dictates of reason and conscience, is assuredly to betray the joys of this life, as well as those of another :

Wherefore, as we are entirely persuaded that just impressions of the Deity are the great supports of morality, and as the experience of ages demonstrates, that regularity of manners is essential to the tranquility and prosperity of societies, and the assistance of the Almighty, on which we rely, to establish the inestimable blessings our afflicted country is contending for, cannot be expected without an observance of his holy laws, we esteem it our principal and indispensable duty to endeavour, as much as we can, that a sense of these interesting truths may prevail in the hearts, and appear in the lives of the inhabitants of this state ; and therefore have thought proper to issue this proclamation, sincerely desiring that they, seriously meditating on the many, signal, and unmerited benefits of public and private import, conferred upon them, the affecting invitations and munificent promises of divine goodness, and “the terrors set in array” against the disobedient, may be urged to exert themselves in avoiding, discountenancing, and suppressing all vice, profaneness, and immorality, and feeling a due gratitude, love, and veneration for their most gracious, allwise, and omnipotent Benefactor, Sovereign, and Judge, and a correspondent temper of resignation to the dispensations of his supreme government, may become a people “trusting in him, in whom they live and move ; and doing good :

And to the intent that these desirable ends may be forwarded, all persons are hereby fervently exhorted, to observe the Lord’s day, commonly called Sunday, and thereon constantly to

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attend the worship of God, as a service pleasing to him who is "a hearer of prayer," and condescends to "inhabit the praises of his people," and profitable to themselves, a neglect of which duty has, in a multitude of instances, been the beginning of a deviation into the ways of presumption, that at length have led into the deepest distresses and severest sorrows.

And as the education of youth is of so much moment to themselves, and to the commonwealth, which cannot flourish, unless that important point be diligently regarded, the sentiments, dispositions and habits being then generally formed, that pervade the rest of their lives, all parents, guardians, masters, and tutors, are hereby strenuously called upon, to discharge the high trust committed to them, and for which they must account, by a faithful attention, that those under their care may be nurtured in piety, filial reverence, submission to superiors in age or station, modesty, sincerity, benevolence, temperance, industry, consistency of behaviour, and a frugality regulated by an humble reliance on providence, and a kind respect for others; that their inexperienced minds may be, by wholesome instructions, fully convinced, that whatever employment they are designed for, virtue will be a chief promoter of success, and irregularity of conduct the greatest obstacle to it; that the intellectual faculties are aided by moral improvements, but weakened by illicit courses; and in brief, that religion is the friend of their peace, health, and happiness, and that to displease their Maker, or to trespass against their neighbour, is inevitably to injure themselves.

And we expect and hereby require, that all well disposed persons, and especially those in place of authority, will, by their conversation and demeanor, encourage and promote piety and virtue, and to their utmost contribute to the rendering these qualities truly laudable and honourable, and the contrary practices justly shameful and contemptible, that thus the influence of good men, and the dignity of the laws, may be combined in repressing the follies and insolencies of scorners and profligates, in directing the weak and thoughtless, and in preserving them from the pernicious contagion

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of evil examples: and for further promoting such reformation, it is hereby enjoined that all magistrates, and others, whom it may concern, be very vigilant and exact in discovering, prosecuting, and punishing all persons, who shall be guilty of profanation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, blasphemy, profane swearing or cursing, drunkenness, lewdness, or other dissolute immoral practices; that they suppress all gaming houses, and other disorderly houses; that they put in execution the act of the general assembly, entitled "an act for the suppression of vice and immorality," and all other laws now in force for the punishing and suppressing any vice, profaneness, or immorality: and for the more effectual proceeding herein, all judges and justices, having cognizance in the premises, are directed to give strict charges at their respective courts and sessions, for the due prosecution and punishment of all who shall presume to offend in any of the kinds aforesaid, and also of all such as, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the laws in execution: and that they do, at their respective courts and sessions, cause this proclamation to be publicly read, immediately before the charge is given: and every minister of the gospel is requested strongly to inculcate in the respective congregations where they officiate, a love of piety and virtue, and an abhorrence of vice, profaneness and immorality.

Given in council, under the hand of the president, and the seal of the state, at Philadelphia, this twentieth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

JOHN DICKINSON.

PROCLAMATION.

By his excellency Arthur St. Clair, esquire, governor and commander in chief of the territory of the united States, north-west of the river Ohio.

To all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

WHEREAS, by the ordinance of congress, of the 13th of July, 1787. for the government of

the territory of the united states, north-west of the river Ohio, it is directed, that for the due execution of process, civil and criminal, the governor shall make proper divisions of the said territory, and proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out that part of the same, where the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject to future alteration, as therein specified,

Now know ye, that it appearing to me to be necessary, for the purposes abovementioned, that a county should immediately be laid out, I have ordained and ordered, and by these presents do ordain and order, that all and singular the lands lying and being within the following boundaries, viz.

Beginning on the bank of the Ohio river, where the western boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses it, and running with that line to lake Erie; thence along the southern shore of the said lake, to the mouth of the Cayahoga river; thence up said river to the portage between it and the Tuscarawa branch of Muskingum; thence down that branch to the Forks at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence with a line to be drawn westerly to the portage on that branch of the Big Miami, on which the fort stood, that was taken by the French in 1752, until it meets the road from the lower Shawanie town to Sandusky; thence south to the Scioto river; thence with that river to the mouth, and thence up the Ohio river to the place of beginning—shall be a county, and the same is hereby erected into a county, named, and hereafter to be called, the county of Washington; and the said county of Washington shall have and enjoy all and singular the jurisdiction, rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatsoever to a county belonging and appertaining, and which any other county that may hereafter be erected and laid out, shall or ought to enjoy, conformably to the ordinance of congress before mentioned.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the territory to be affixed, this 26th day of July, in the thirteenth year of the independence of the united states,

and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

Signed, A. ST. CLAIR,



A message from the president and supreme executive council, to the general assembly of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen,

WE are happy in the belief, that the affairs of the state, and the prospects of the union, afford a just foundation to address the legislature in terms of congratulation.

The principal difficulties which obstructed the adoption of the federal constitution have been happily overcome; the prejudice and suspicion that were awakened by the appearance of that system, have been gradually lulled, and we can no longer doubt that all those states, which have been successfully allied to obtain the independence of America, will again be united in that best means of giving strength, dignity, and stability to the national character. Nor can it be deemed visionary or unreasonable, to ascribe to the influence of the new government, the liberal attention and encouragement which of late have been bestowed upon domestic arts and manufactures; the spirit of industry and economy that has spread itself through every order of society; and the perfect amity which subsists at this period amongst the inhabitants of the several states.

From the same source that has thus revived the hope of internal order and happiness, we cannot fail to derive the respect and confidence of foreign nations. For in the great intercourse of independent countries, the proper title to reciprocal advantage is the power each enjoys of protecting its own commerce, and the disposition which each evinces to maintain its own credit. Experience has demonstrated the inconveniences of a government in which that power does not reside, and has taught us to believe, that a more happy effect will naturally flow from a government differently constituted. And while the sovereignties of Europe are suffering all the calamities of an extensive war, it must yield a laudable satisfaction to every patriotic mind, that we enjoy the profitable opportunity of improv-

ing the great advantages that lie before us.

Impressed with these sentiments, we are ready to declare, that in every act that can promote the welfare of the union, or the interests of this state, we shall, in the manner most beneficial to the public, most cheerfully exercise that jurisdiction which the constitution has confided to us. And as we shall be solicitous on every occasion to concur in the designs, and to advance the intentions of the legislature, we trust that the harmony of our proceedings will produce an additional confidence in our constituents, and give a proper energy to the administration of public affairs.

Gentlemen,

It may be necessary to make provision by law for the appointment of persons to discharge the duties of sheriffs, in cases of contested elections, in which it may not be expedient for the executive immediately to decide, and in which the former sheriffs, who have been in office three years, cannot constitutionally act.

The tax laws should in our opinion be revised; the assessments of the public taxes are in many instances unequal, and their collection generally expensive, uncertain, and dilatory.

The following reservations should, in the opinion of council, be made for the commonwealth, viz. 1. Presque Isle, formed by Lake Erie. 2. Le Beuf, at the head of the navigation of French Creek; and 3. The lands adjacent to the mouth of the Conewango, in the county of Allegheny.

The commissioners, appointed by virtue of the act, entitled, "An act to appropriate the sum of two thousand pounds of the public monies to the laying out and making of a highway from the western parts of Cumberland county to the town of Pittsburgh; and to authorise the president in council to appoint commissioners to lay out the same," have laid out that road, which we have confirmed as far as the town of Bedford. We think a review of that part which lies westward of the town of Bedford absolutely necessary; but as the money appropriated for laying out and completing the said road, is nearly expended, we cannot proceed in the re-

view without the further directions and aid of the legislature.

We suggest to the legislature, the propriety of directing engravings of the boundary lines of this state, and the publication of the reports of the several commissioners who completed those lines.

We have not observed on the printed journals of the late house, that any order hath been taken on the recommendation of congress with respect to convicts imported into these states from the British dominions, which recommendation was laid before that house by council.

We transmit herewith two letters from the secretary of congress, of the 28th of July, 1785, and 22d of October, 1788, in which council are requested to supply him with thirteen copies of the laws of the commonwealth; this cannot be done, unless a number are printed for the purpose; we also transmit a letter from the same, dated the 7th of November, 1788, enclosing the journals of congress from August the 20th, to the end of the federal year. A letter from the delegates of this state in the congress of the united states, on the subject of a resolution of the general assembly of the 4th of October last, also accompanies this message.

Colonel Febiger's representation on some late attempts to avoid the payment of duties on merchandise sold by auction, is submitted to the general assembly.

THOMAS MIFFLIN, president.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1788.



Facts concerning the butternut tree of North-America.—From dr. Mitchell's journal.

THE butternut tree grows luxuriantly in many places, and is sometimes so large as to measure ten feet in circumference. It is a species of juglans, seemingly not noticed by Linnæus, and although mentioned by Cutler (Memoirs of the American academy of arts and sciences, vol. 1. p. 490.) among the valuable indigenous vegetables of the united states, has been passed over, without a narrative of its particular uses and virtues.

The bark affords, by boiling in wa-

ter, an extract that is found, by experience, to possess a purgative quality. This is safe, gentle, and efficacious; and when administered in doses, from fifteen to forty grains, operates downwards without griping. It was much used in the continental army, during the late war, and proved a good substitute for jalap, rhubarb, and other cathartics of foreign production. The country people in several districts, keep it for their families, and prescribe it as a domestic medicine: some of them have even been profitably busied in preparing the extract for sale to practitioners of physic, apothecaries, and housekeepers, both in this country and abroad.

It is an excellent medicine in those diseases where gentle purging and mild cathartics are proper, and therefore it is said to have been remarkably serviceable in dysenteries, hemorrhoids, gonorrhæas, and other ailments.

This remedy seems peculiar to North-America; it appears not to be employed in medical practice in Europe; I never knew it prescribed in the infirmaries at London, Paris, or Edinburgh, nor has it been received into any of the pharmacopœias.

Besides its use in private practice, it is excellently adapted, from its cheapness, to the purposes of hospitals, dispensaries, navies and camps. If then, physicians and surgeons in foreign countries, can be encouraged to prescribe this extract to their patients, they will not only bring into general vogue a useful medicine, but will likewise make it a lucrative article of commerce, for exportation from this quarter of the globe.

It needs scarcely to be mentioned, that the nut of this tree is very rich, succulent, and oily; and that the bark is used for dying cloth with various shades of brown.

Method of making soap from myrtle-wax. In a letter from Thomas Bee, esq. to the chairman of the committee of the South Carolina society for promoting and improving agriculture and other rural concerns,

Dear sir,

AS the following account may be the means of inducing other experiments, and eventually of adding an additional export to the products of

this state, I think it an object worthy the attention of your society.

Having heard several conversations lately on the great quantity of soap that had been produced from myrtle wax, curiosity led me to make an experiment in my own family; and, procured from a lady who had already tried it—an account of the necessary process, which is as follows:

To three bushels and a half of common wood ashes was added half a bushel of unslacked lime; these being well mixed together, were put into a cask that could contain about sixty gallons, which was then filled up with water. In forty-eight hours, the lye was strong enough to bear an egg. It was then drawn off, and from six to eight gallons of it put into a copper kettle, capable of containing about twenty five gallons; to this were added only four pounds of common myrtle-wax. This was kept boiling over a constant, steady fire, from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon. For the first three or four hours a supply of strong lye was added from time to time, until the liquor appeared like soft soap; then weaker lye was poured in occasionally, and the whole frequently well stirred with a ladle. After six hours boiling, two quarts of common large grain salt were thrown into the kettle, which was left one hour more to simmer over a slow fire. The liquor was then put into two large tubs to cool, where it continued twenty four hours; and then the soap was taken out, wiped clean, and put to dry. The next day it was weighed, when the produce appeared to be forty nine pounds two ounces, of good solid soap, from the materials and by the process before mentioned. What the loss of the weight may be, when the soap is thoroughly dry, must be ascertained hereafter; but I have been informed by one who made the trial, that at the end of six weeks it was very trifling.

Thoughts on the culture of the scarlet city root.

Mepkin, S. C. October 4, 1783,

ABOUT three months since, I gave the public an account of the progress and state of the Hummingdon [or scarcity] root, then growing upon this plantation,

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At that time a drought prevailed, which threatened destruction to the crops of rice and corn in this quarter—the Huntingdon root was not in any respect injured; on the contrary, it rapidly increased in growth, both root and leaves; the quantity of the latter (which were repeatedly gathered for feeding cattle) was amazingly great. Some ten days or a fortnight after that communication was made, we were visited by very heavy falls of rain, which, as the root was situated in a deep valley of meadow land, entirely overflowed it—Some time was required for drawing off the water, but as repeated heavy showers followed, it was impracticable to keep the surface of such soil dry. The leaves faded, and soon failed, and the roots began to rot.

On the 20th September, such of them as appeared to be sound, 841 in number, the remains of upwards of 1600, were drawn out of the ground. Of these 841, many of them, without leaves, weighed from 6 to 10 1/2 lb. each—the rest from 1 to 3 and 6 lb.

Notwithstanding the disaster which this first essay has suffered, owing to improper soil, or rather to a deficiency in proper preparation of the ground, my attempt is not unrewarded—from less than one quarter of an acre, I have obtained upwards of 25000 lb. weight of food wholesome for cattle, and not inferior to any of the beet kind for the table, nor shall I be discouraged from a farther trial, if I live till February next, but I intend, if I receive seed in due time, to make a winter experiment.

I have learned, that this root, called mangel wurzel and root of scarcity, has been long planted by the Germans in Pennsylvania, from whence probably seed may be procured.

HENRY LAURENS.

On the culture of pumpkins.

LAST winter a friend in Philadelphia, sent me a few pumpkin or pumpkin seed, of a sort which I had never before seen; these were planted

NOTE.

*One fourth of an acre of corn in the lower country of this state to produce 10 bushels, is a very great crop—10 bushels of good corn will weigh about 22 lb.

ed in April—only five seed vegetated; from the vines of the five I have gathered twenty pumpkins (a great many had rotted). The vines had suffered by drought, but more from being suffocated, by common pumpkin vines, and from calabashes, which had grown spontaneously, and were neglected while I was in Charleston in May and June. The twenty pumpkins are all of an uncommonly large size. The four largest measure in circumference and weight, viz,

1—4 feet 1 inch 57 lb.

1—4 — 7 inches 66

1—4 — 11 — 63

1—5 — 4 — 75

Cows eat these in preference to our common pumpkin. Seed may be procured from Pennsylvania. H. L.

On the culture of Guinea-grass.

IN the late spring, through the goodness of my friend col. Motte, I procured from Jamaica three half pints of Guinea-grass seed, which I planted in the drills on one fourth of an acre of very indifferent land; the seed sprang and soon covered the ground with grass four feet high and upwards; being desirous of saving as much seed as possible, I cut but one bundle of grass for horses. They eat it all with great avidity.

In August, I took one of the grass roots and divided it into twenty-eight parts, which were immediately replanted; every part took root, and the whole are now growing very finely and seeding. I am of opinion this grass will make the best pastures we can wish for, in the lower parts of the state, particularly that it would be a vast improvement to the lands on Charleston neck, and prove very beneficial to the city. From former experience, I have reason to believe the Guinea grass is perennial—it is easily managed, requires but one good hoeing, after which it will take care of itself.

I am informed, a gentleman, near Kingston, in Jamaica, makes upwards of 10000. sterl. per annum by Guinea grass hay. H. L.

A cheap and very good green paint.

BOIL equal quantities of blue vitriol and wall whitening in a sufficient quantity of water for several hours over a gentle fire, until the

boiling assumes a beautiful pale green—then carefully pour off the water.

The mixture put upon good brown or whited brown paper in a basket, the remains of water will strain out, and the mixture form into a hard cake.

For inside work common gum water will serve to mix it—for outside, linseed or train oil.

My first attempt was 6lb. of each ingredient put into six gallons of water, boiled slowly, but constantly, ten hours.

Afterwards I made up 20lb. of each ingredient.

The paint recommended by the Bath agricultural society, vol. 2d. page 114, made of train oil, rosin and brimstone, and coloured by white lead, Spanish brown or yellow oker, is very cheap, and I believe very good. I have had three considerable out-houses painted with it at a trifling expence. If the first coat is laid on with a mixture of white lead, though a little more expensive, and the second coat a mixture of Spanish brown, it produces a very pretty colour, feels and looks like varnish.

It is said this paint “will make timber and boards endure for ages, and prevent rain from penetrating brick work.” H. L.



Remarks on the culture of Burnet grass.

IT is well known to gentlemen, who are but a little conversant with agricultural writers, that there are several sorts of grasses, which have been cultivated in Europe of late years, to the great profit of the farmer, which have not yet prevailed in this country. We have generally confined our attention to clover and fox-tail, or herk's grass. These are good, but unfortunately for the farmer, they are apt to run out in a year or two, and to be succeeded with a natural grass, of small value. Saintfoin and lucerne grass are much preferred in Europe to these, and when properly cultivated, have yielded prodigious crops, and will continue in the ground for many years. M. Duhamel, a celebrated writer of France, mentions ten thousand pounds, or about four tons and a half of dried hay, from a piece of saintfoin, a little more than

three quarters of an acre. M. de Chateauvieux, equally illustrious as a husbandman, and for holding the first office in the government of Geneva, tells us in his writings, that he cut a piece of lucerne of about an acre, five times in a year, and had fifteen thousand three hundred pounds of hay. I have been informed by a gentleman who was on the spot, that he saw lucerne cultivated some years since in the garden of colonel Chandler, junr. of Worcester, which was two feet and upwards high, and grew so as to produce three crops in the same year. Both of these grasses have been sown by several gentlemen the last year, and appear with a very promising aspect. The approaching season will give them an opportunity to acquaint the public with the result of their experiments. I saw some lucerne in my neighbourhood the last season, which grew knee high within a short space after it was sown. This grass will come to perfection the first year, if it is sown alone, as was the specimen which I saw.

But there is another species of grass, much celebrated in England for its peculiar excellencies, which appears worthy the attention of those gentlemen, who, to their honour, are now making experiments for the promotion of the agriculture of their country. I mean burnet-grass. It has great recommendations in that first performance of the kind, the Complete Farmer, published by a society of gentlemen, members of the society for the encouragement of arts, &c. in London. For the information of those who possess not this inestimable dictionary of husbandry, a volume incomparably better adapted to our soil and climate (because containing the essence of the best experiments of a great variety of soils and climates) than the low productions of Varro, long since the object of public ridicule in England, I shall take the trouble of presenting some extracts relative to the article.

A plant, say these gentlemen, which will not only live through the winter, but will also, if possible, vegetate in the season, cannot fail being highly advantageous, provided it be at the same time a pleasing and nourishing food for cattle. All these properties

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erties have been lately found in burnet. It not only preserves its verdure during the hardest frosts of our winters, but also increases in bulk, and grows, if the weather be at all open and mild; and is now known to be an excellent food for cattle. Mr. Rocque, the discoverer, has found by experience that it will grow in the driest land: for he has planted some of it in the gravel walks of his garden, where every thing else is burnt up in the summer, but this never withers; one of the qualities of burnet being to continue in sap all the year. It is the opinion of many, who have seen the burnet of his raising, that if this plant is generally cultivated, there will never be a scarcity of hay, even in the greatest drought.

The land on which it is sown, should be fine, because it is apt to shed, and it should afterwards be dried perfectly. Burnet does not lose its leaves in drying; and though the hay made of it be sticky, it will, after threshing, be very agreeable to horses, which are so fond of it, that they never waste any. One acre will produce upwards of three loads of hay, and above forty bushels of seed. Horses are fonder of this feed than they are of oats. Burnet bears seed twice a year, and will besides yield a good spring crop. It is not only good for horses, but for all manner of cattle, even for swine.

The burnet sown in May may be mown at the latter end of July. That sown in June will yield a pretty good crop, and must be cut but once; and the same of that which is sown in July. The plants produced by seeds sown in August, should be mowed, to destroy the weeds. These mowings may be given green to horses, or made into hay. The first spring cutting will purge horses: and Mr. Rocque believes, it will also cure the grease; but it is only the first crop that purges. Burnet should be mown but once the first year, in order to leave it rank in winter; and in this case it will be ready to seed or mow very early in the spring.

When the seeds of this plant are to be sowed, it must neither be fed nor mowed, in the spring. The seed will be ripe about the middle of June, when it must be reaped like wheat, and threshed on a cloth. It should be

threshed before it is too dry, because it is apt to shed, and it afterwards should be perfectly dried.

A Davis Lamb, esquire, writes, that after seeding a piece of burnet of seven and an half acres in the spring, with ewes, lambs and calves, obtaining in the following July from the same, two hundred bushels of very fine clean seed, as many sacks of chaff, and seven loads of hay, he was desirous of knowing what it would perform as a pasture. "Accordingly in about ten or twelve days after the field was cleared, I turned into it seven cows, two calves, and two horses. They all thrived very remarkably, and the cows gave more, and we thought a richer milk than in any other pasture. The weather was now exceedingly drouthy, and all our pastures were burnt up, yet the burnet flourished, and grew away, as if it had a shower every week. My stock of cows, horses and calves abovementioned, pastured in it almost continually until about the latter end of September. By the middle of November it had grown so considerably, that I have again turned in six head of cattle, and if the weather is not severe, I am of opinion, it will maintain them until Christmas."

"Burnet," he observes, "will bear pasturing with sheep. It makes good butter. It never blows or hoves cattle. It will flourish upon poor, light, sandy, stony, shaltery, or chalky land. After the first year, it will weed itself, and be kept clean at little or no expence."

A Christopher Baldwin, esquire, said to be a "gentleman well known, and justly respected for his candour and fidelity," made several experiments upon burnet, and found it a most useful and excellent grass: four acres of this grass in a summer of uncommon drought, grew well, and the verdure of it was, as he observes, really very beautiful. He had a very good crop, tho' there was but one shower from the time of putting it into the ground, to the time of cutting it."

He turned his horses and cows into it after it was cut. The cows eat it greedily. The horses were not so fond of it until two or three days, when they fed well upon it. The quantity of the cows' milk was very much

increased in about four or five days, but the flavour of the cream superior to any he had ever tasted. He found the horses were in general exceedingly fond of the hay, though some, affected perhaps with the novelty of it, did not appear so fond of it.

This gentleman mentions, that he was so well pleased with the success of his first experiments, that he sowed another field of twelve acres with a hundred and sixty pounds of barnet. As an experiment, he mentions that he took four cows from a very good feed of natural grass, which gave very little milk. These cows, says he, had not been in the barnet above six days before they gave much more than double the quantity of milk; nay, was I to say three times the quantity, I know that I should not exceed the truth. His land was a poor dry upland gravel. "There are millions of acres, says he, in this kingdom, of better land, that do not fetch above two shillings and six-pence an acre rent."

The proper quantity of seed for an acre, is about twelve or thirteen pounds.

From the recommendations and peculiar qualities of this grass, I have been induced to send to Europe for a quantity of seed, of which I mean to make a trial this season.

Withing success to all connoisseurs in the noble art of husbandry,

I am the public's

very humble servant,

AGRICOLA.

Boston, 1786.

Thoughts on deism, Ascribed to his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of New Jersey.

Read and revere the sacred page—
a page

Where triumphs immortality: a page
Which not the whole creation could
produce,

Which not the conflagration shall de-
stroy;

'Tis printed in the minds of Gods for
ever;

In nature's ruins not one letter lost.

Dr. Young's night thoughts.

DID you ever see a man, courteous reader, arrogating to himself the title of philosopher and of a profound thinker, who could not even give a definition of philosophy, nor e-

ver had a serious thought in his life? a man, who, with little wit, and much self-conceit, was constantly retailing scraps and shreds from Toland and Tindal, and glorying in the wretched sophistry of those superficial reasoners against the authenticity of the sacred scriptures, but who had never so much as looked into Leland, a celebrated and philosophical divine, who had solidly confuted them both?

Have you ever seen a man, who ridiculed all faith and all mystery, and expected to obtain eternal felicity by practising the morality dictated by the light of nature, acknowledging at the same time his belief of the greatest absurdities in the world; and practising no more morality than a horse? a man pretending to the acutest penetration and judgment—and yet not knowing how to doubt where he ought—to rest assured where he ought—and to submit where he ought?

Did you ever see a man who insisted that the bare light of nature was sufficient (and revelation consequently unnecessary) to conduct us at present in the path of duty, and everlasting happiness hereafter; and in the same breath confessing, that, notwithstanding this light, (luminous and brilliant as he made it) a very great part of the world, that has no other guide, is this moment involved in pagan superstition, and the grossest idolatry?

Did you ever see a man who denied the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, though proved by a cloud of witnesses, who sealed their testimony with their blood; and yet affecting to believe the fabulous wonders of Apollonius of Tyana, upon the credit of Philostratus, who has written a silly romance about that astrologer, which was never believed by any, save by those who believe every thing but what is true?

Did you ever see a man who resolved all the moral attributes of the Deity into that of mercy; and that mercy into connivance at sin, and the virtual abolition of all his laws? a man who flattered himself that the precepts, the morality, and the history of our holy religion—the wonderful and unparalleled life and death of its author—the wisdom and sanctity of its injunctions—the authority and sublimity of the sacred writings—the

testimony of ocular witnesses—the blood of so many martyrs—the accomplishment of so many prophecies—the attestation of so many miracles—the tradition of so many ages—the conversion of so great a part of the world to a religion renouncing the world, and propagated not only without, but against, external force—the perpetuity of the faith through a perpetuity of the most bloody persecutions—the impregnable foundation of the church—and all other proofs, in support of christianity, are answered and confuted, or rather totally annihilated, by the unphilosophical philosophy of a Bolingbroke, or the wretched pun or threadbare jest of a Voltaire, or a Rousseau?

Did you ever see a man who had the assurance to tell you, that our belief in the divine origin of the scriptures is wholly to be ascribed to the force of education, and the early infusions of the priest and the nurse; but that all men of unfettered, uninfluenced sentiments, all philosophers and reasoners, have ever esteemed revelation as imposture; and this man at the same time confessing that sir Isaac Newton, and mr. Locke, and lord Bacon, and sir Robert Boyle, and Grotius, and Boerhaave, and Littleton, and West, and Pascal, and Penn, and Barclay, and Phipps, were all christians, after the most impartial scrutiny, and the most assiduous investigation of the evidences by which revelation is supported?

Did you ever see a man who denied the possibility of miracles, and yet demanding a constant series and uninterrupted succession of them, to prove a divine mission? A man who reproached religion with all the horrors of persecution, and the fanaticism of the most sanguinary zealots, and at the same time acknowledging that these excesses were the evident abuses of christianity; and directly repugnant to the peaceable spirit of the gospel, and the notorious inhibitions of its illustrious founder?

Did you ever see a man unable by the light of reason to reconcile the blemishes in the natural, and the disorders in the moral, world, with the idea of an all-wise and all-good, Governor of the universe—some regions, for instance, almost deprived of the

heat of the sun—others scorched by its insupportable splendor—winds, tempests, and earthquakes, volcanoes and inundations threatening universal destruction—the ocean overflowing the greatest part of the globe—and an immense quantity of its *terra firma* covered with rocks and mountains and deserts of sand, incapable of cultivation—nor apparently formed for the sustenance of man or beast—and this same man able, by revelation, to reconcile all this; and yet scorning by revelation to do it?

Respecting the moral world—have you ever seen a man unable to account, by the light of reason, how a Being infinitely good and infinitely powerful, should permit sin (which from the purity of his nature he must abhor, and by his own omnipotence can certainly prevent) not only to enter into the world, but to be more prevalent in it than virtue—why he should suffer injustice and tyranny to reign uncontrolled; oppression and violence to be successful and triumph over prostrate virtue and innocence; humility to be confounded; and piety to wander in penury and rags—and able, by revelation, to account for all this, and yet scorning by revelation to solve those, otherwise inexplicable, difficulties!

Did you ever see a man, who unable by the light of reason to account for the composition of his own species, as at the same time material and thinking beings, while it is confessedly of the essence of matter to be incompatible with thought, equally unable to account for the double nature in man—his general propensity to vice, and his insuperable veneration for virtue—his *video meliora, proboque*, and his *deteriora sequor*—his unconquerable moral depravity, and the remaining splendid fragments of his primæval lustre; and able by revelation to account for all this; and yet scorning by revelation to do it?

Have you ever seen a man, who, unable to prove, by the light of reason, the immortality of the soul; or that, from the intimate union between the operations of the soul and those of the body, the latter ceasing, the former will not terminate:—and able, by revelation, which hath brought immortality to light, to prove his eternal du-

ration; and yet scorning by revelation to prove it?

Did you ever see a man, who, unable by the light of reason to account for his own hopes of immortal happiness, from the absolute impossibility of reconciling, by the help of that light, the immutable justice of the supreme Legislator, with the impunity of the transgressors of his laws (for as to the idea of the attribute of mercy, it is indubitably borrowed from revelation; and in the hands of those reasoners, most miserably perverted, and who by revelation, could account for it; and yet scorning thus to solve this, otherwise inscrutable, enigma?

Have you ever seen such a man, sir? why then you have seen a—block-head.

Let all the heathen writers join
To form one perfect book,
Great GOD, if once compar'd
With thine,
How mean their writings look?
Not the most perfect rules they gave
Could shew one sin forgiv'n;
Nor lead a step beyond the grave,
But thine conduct to heav'n.

Dr. Watts's version of the psalms.
HORTENSIVS.

Plan of a federal university.—Ascribed to dr. Ruff.

"YOUR government cannot be executed. It is too extensive for a republic. It is contrary to the habits of the people," say the enemies of the constitution of the united states.—However opposite to the opinions and wishes of a majority of the citizens of the united states these declarations and predictions may be, the latter will certainly be verified, unless the people are prepared for our new form of government by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our country. To effect this great and necessary work, let one of the first acts of the new congress be, to establish within the district to be allotted for them, a federal university, into which the youth of the united states shall be received, after they have finished their studies, and taken their degrees in the colleges of their respective states. In this university, let those branches of literature only be taught, which are cal-

culated to prepare our youth for civil and public life. These branches should be taught by means of lectures, and the following arts and sciences should be the subjects of them.

1. The principles and forms of government, applied in a particular manner to the explanation of every part of the constitution and laws of the united states, together with the laws of nature and nations, which last should include every thing that relates to peace, war, treaties, ambassadors, and the like.

2. History, both ancient and modern, and chronology.

3. Agriculture, in all its numerous and extensive branches.

4. The principles and practice of manufactures.

5. The history, principles, objects, and channels of commerce.

6. Those parts of mathematics which are necessary to the division of property, to finance, and to the principles and practice of war: for there is too much reason to fear that war will continue, for some time to come, to be the unchristian mode of deciding disputes between christian nations.

7. Those parts of natural philosophy and chemistry, which admit of an application to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and war.

8. Natural history, which includes the history of animals, vegetables, and fossils. To render instruction in these branches of science easy, it will be necessary to establish a museum, as also a garden, in which not only all the shrubs, &c. but all the forest trees of the united states, should be cultivated. The great Linnæus of Upsal enlarged the commerce of Sweden, by his discoveries in natural history. He once saved the Swedish navy by finding out the time in which a worm laid its eggs, and recommending the immersion of the timber, of which the ships were [to be] built, at that season wholly under water. So great were the services this illustrious naturalist rendered his country, by the application of his knowledge to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that the present king of Sweden pronounced an eulogium upon him, from the throne, soon after his death.

9. Philology, which should include rhetoric and criticism, lectures upon

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the construction and pronunciation of the English language. Instruction in this branch of literature will become the more necessary in America, as our intercourse must soon cease with the bar, the stage, and the pulpits of Great-Britain, from whence we received our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of style in the united states. The present is the age of simplicity of writing in America. The turgid style of Johnson—the purple glare of Gibbon—and even the studied and thick set metaphors of Junius, are all equally unnatural, and should not be admitted into our country. The cultivation and perfection of our language becomes a matter of consequence, when viewed in another light. It will probably be spoken by more people, in the course of two or three centuries, than ever spoke any one language, at one time, since the creation of the world. When we consider the influence, which the prevalence of only two languages, viz. the English and the Spanish, in the extensive regions of North and South-America, will have upon manners, commerce, knowledge, and civilization, scenes of human happiness, and glory open before us, which elude, from their magnitude, the utmost grasp of the human understanding.

10. The German and French languages should be taught in this university. The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvements of all kinds, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the united states.

11. All those athletic and manly exercises should likewise be taught in the university, which are calculated to impart health, strength, and elegance to the human body.

To render the instruction of our youth as easy and as extensive as possible, in several of the above mentioned branches of literature, let four young men of good education and active minds be sent abroad at the public expence, to collect and transmit to the professors of the said branches, all the improvements

that are daily made in Europe, in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and in the art of war and practical government. This measure is rendered the more necessary from the distance of the united states from Europe, by which means the rays of knowledge strike the united states so partially, that they can be brought to a useful focus, only by employing suitable persons to collect and transmit them to our country. It is in this manner that the northern nations of Europe have imported so much knowledge from their southern neighbours, that the history of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, revenues, and military arts of one of these nations, will soon be alike applicable to all of them.

Besides sending four young men abroad to collect and transmit knowledge for the benefit of our country, two young men of suitable capacities should be employed at the public expence, in exploring the vegetable, mineral, and animal productions of our country, in procuring histories and samples of each of them, and in transmitting them to the professor of natural history. It is in consequence of the discoveries made by young gentlemen employed for these purposes, that Sweden, Denmark and Russia have extended their manufactures and commerce, so as to rival, in both, the oldest nations in Europe.

Let the congress allow a liberal salary to the principal of this university. Let it be his business to govern the students, and to inspire them by his conversation, and by occasional public discourses, with federal and patriotic sentiments. Let this principal be a man of extensive education, liberal manners, and dignified deportment.

Let the professors of each of the branches that have been mentioned, have a moderate salary of 150*l.* or 200*l.* a year, and let them depend upon the number of their pupils to supply the deficiency of their maintenance from their salaries. Let each pupil pay for each course of lectures two or three guineas.

Let the degrees conferred in this university, receive a new name, that shall designate the design of an education for civil and public life.

In thirty years after this university

is established, let an act of congress be passed, to prevent any person being chosen or appointed into power or office, who has not taken a degree in the federal university. We require certain qualifications in lawyers, physicians, and clergymen, before we commit our property, our lives, or our souls to their care. We even refuse to commit the charge of a ship to a pilot, who cannot produce a certificate of his education and knowledge in his business. Why then should we commit our country, which includes liberty, property, life, wives, and children, to men who cannot produce vouchers of their qualifications for the important trust? We are restrained from injuring ourselves, by employing quacks in law; why should we not be restrained in like manner, by law, from employing quacks in government?

Should this plan of a federal university, or one like it, be adopted, then will begin the golden age of the united states. While the business of education in Europe consists in lectures upon the ruins of Palmyra, and the antiquities of Herculaneum, or in disputes about Hebrew points, Greek particles, or the accent and quantity of the Roman language, the youth of America will be employed in acquiring those branches of knowledge, which increase the conveniencies of life, lessen human misery, improve our country, promote population, exalt the human understanding, and establish domestic, social, and political happiness.

Let it not be said, "that this is not the time for such a literary and political establishment. Let us first restore public credit, by funding or paying our debts, let us regulate our militia, let us build a navy, and let us protect and extend our commerce. After this we shall have leisure and money to establish a university for the purposes that have been mentioned." This is false reasoning. We shall never restore public credit, regulate our militia, build a navy, or revive our commerce, until we remove the ignorance and prejudices, and change the habits of our citizens; and this can never be done, till we inspire them with federal principles, which can only be effected by our young men meeting and spending two or three years together in a national

university, and afterwards disseminating their knowledge and principles through every county, township, and village of the united states. Till this is done—senators and representatives of the united states, you will undertake to make bricks without straw. Your supposed union in congress, will be a rope of sand. The inhabitants of Massachusetts began the business of government by establishing the university of Cambridge, and the wise kings in Europe have always found their literary institutions the surest means of establishing their power, as well as of promoting the prosperity of their people.

These hints for establishing the constitution and happiness of the united states upon a permanent foundation, are submitted to the friends of the federal government in each of the states, by a private

Citizen of Pennsylvania.

Observations on capital punishments: being a reply to an essay on the same subject, published in the American Museum for July, 1788, page 78.

To the printer of the American Museum.

I Send you some strictures on a small performance lately published in the Museum, in which the author, under the specious and popular pretext of humanity, endeavours to shew that it is altogether unreasonable and antisciptural, to punish any crime, even malicious and wilful murder, by death. The author of this opinion has not concealed himself, and, in his own judgment, had no reason to do so. He glories in the sentiment, and expects, that within a century hence, all mankind will be of the same opinion with him, and wishes that his performance may live so long, to testify to these humane people, who are to come into future existence, that there was at least one man in the year 1788, who was as enlightened and humane as they will be. He further hopes, that the history of our wheelbarrows, whipping-posts, and executions for murder, will appear as cruel, inhuman, and unreasonable to posterity, as the cruelties of the darkest ages now appear to us. He is a gentleman possessed of many amiable qual-

es, for which I and others honour him ; and I will not pronounce him a sceptic or socinian : but there is reason to think he has been trifling and sporting with their writings, and, either from their books or conversation, has, in some unlucky and unguarded moment, imbibed some of their principles, without seeing the connexion of these, with others which, I am persuaded, he would abhor.

It merits our attention, that this author hath displayed not only against punishing murder by death : he has also published a piece against all public punishments, such as labour on the highways and streets ; and declares it as his fixed opinion, that all such punishments should be inflicted in some solitary desert ; and yet, (how consistently let all men judge) he affirms, that the sole design of punishment, is reformation. I suppose he means the reformation of the offenders only, who are in the hands of justice : but it is clear, that the end of punishment is much more expanded. It is intended to be a warning to all, to be a terror to all evil doers, even those who are not yet in the hands of justice, that they also may reform, and indeed to strike a becoming reverence of the laws, into the minds of all ; to give majesty, energy, and force to government, in order to prevent the perpetration of crimes. But how shall this important end be gained on his plan ? How will men be alarmed and warned, if the penalty of the law be executed only in solitude ? he replies, the community at large will hear of it, and says, that hell-torments are invisible to us, and yet produce terror on the minds of men, and even alleges that the report produces a greater effect than the sight would ; that is, men are more afraid of hell-torments, by only hearing the report of them, than they would be by actually beholding them. I apprehend few men, in their senses, will believe this. I am certain, I have never been half so much alarmed and affrighted, by all the reports I have read or heard, about persons in an agony of horror and despair, as I have been by the sight of such a one. And by a parity of reason, says he, it will produce greater terror to hear of a man being chained to the wheel-barrow, whipped, or hanged,

than to see it. I believe this to be contrary to the experience of all men. I have heard several persons declare, that they have been so affected and moved, at the sight of public executions, that they would never go to see another : and indeed to hear of them, is sufficient for thoughtful virtuous persons : but by no means for men hardened in wickedness. Society is in little danger from the first class ; and in great hazard from the last. But, as I said, it is the glory of scepticism, to attack the plainest principles of common sense, and overturn or render doubtful the most certain facts. Besides it may be remarked, that on his plan, very few would even hear of the punishment ; it might be published in the newspapers, once or oftener ; but few comparatively read them. The novelty of the thing might call up the attention of some, for a few moments : but it is a proverbial saying, founded in truth and experience, "out of sight—out of mind." In short, I can see no method, that will be successful to give any degree of efficacy to punishment on his plan, or render his similitude of hell-torments, in any respect, to his purpose, unless he can provide a number of orators, daily to traverse the country, and declaim on the terrors of the wheel-barrow, the whipping-post, &c. within the precincts of the solitary mountain, where he proposes to fix his pandemonium. The apostle, I fancy, understood human nature as well as he or I. He says, "then that sin, rebuke before all, that others may fear ;" apply the rule to civil government, and it is, "them that commit crimes, punish before all, that others may fear."

I will now proceed to consider the point in question between him and me, viz. whether it be inhuman, unjust, and contrary to scripture and reason, for civil communities to annex the penalty of death to their laws against wilful and malicious murder, and for magistrates inflexibly to execute it ? He says it is so. I on the contrary, affirm, that it is most just, scriptural, reasonable, and necessary ; and instead of being inhuman, is really the means of divine appointment to support humanity ; and have no doubt but that, with candid men, I shall incontestably establish the point. My arguments

shall be drawn from scripture, from reason, from providence, and the universal consent of mankind, and the consent of the murderers themselves, when in their right minds. After attempting to establish the position by argument, it will be proper to shew the weakness and inconclusiveness of our author's reasoning.

It is customary with the socinian sceptics, to undervalue the Old Testament, as not applicable to the present dispensation; and to consider the New Testament as their only rule: and happy would it be, did they even allow it the efficacy of a rule. But their conduct in this is very absurd and inconsistent. The apostle evidently spake of the Old Testament, when he said to Timothy, "From a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are sufficient to make the man of God perfect, fully furnished to all good works. All scripture is given by divine inspiration, and is profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness." The reason is obvious and cogent: the New Testament was not composed when Timothy was a child. Any person who understands the bible, but with a moderate degree of perspicuity and accuracy, will readily see, that the Old Testament and New are constituent parts of one whole; pillars of the same arch, which cannot stand without one part bearing on and supporting the other. There is an unity of design throughout the whole. That there are several things in the Old Testament typical and prefigurative of the Messiah, is granted. But were the immutable laws of justice and equity typical? Surely not. Our author discovers much weakness in saying, "May not the punishment of death, inflicted on murderers by the Mosaic law, be intended to represent the demerit and consequence of sin?" What occasion, what necessity for such a type, when men were dying daily, and some with as great agony as a violent death could create, some by earthquakes, a stroke of lightning, or by other accidents? If none had died, except by legal executions, until Christ came in the flesh, there would be some shadow of reason in what he says. But what necessity of a type of death, when

death, the demerit of sin, was continually present before their eyes? This is to sport with the divine word, it is mere travestie.

The first proof of our point, which I shall mention, is the decree of heaven announced to Noah. Genes. 9, 5, 6. "And surely the blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man." But how? It follows: "who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the image of God made he man." Our author cannot say, that this is a Mosaic, a ceremonial, and typical institution. It was given long before the days of Moses. He cannot say, that God alone has the right to dispose of human life by an immediate stroke of his own hand, and that courts of justice, by punishing murder with death, invade God's prerogative, because here he commits this work, as a sacred trust, into the hands of such courts. He says "at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man." But how? By his own immediate interposition? No, this would be a miracle, and out of the ordinary course of nature. The supreme being governs the world by divine institutions, laws, and ordinances, and by appointing magistrates as his ministers to execute them. Therefore it follows, "who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But this author tells us, that the rev. mr. Turner alleges, this is only a prediction of what should generally happen. I could almost warrant it, that this same mr. Turner is a socinian sceptic. But I ask, does the text bear any such appearance? Let any one read both the fifth and sixth verses, and determine. It carries with it all the authority and majesty of a statute, of a divine ordinance, never to be repealed. But supposing what mr. Turner alleges were true, is the prediction given forth with any signature or token of disapprobation? This is always the case when any thing sinful or immoral is predicted, as when it is said, "He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity. He that taketh the sword, shall perish by the

word." The modes of execution. The ordinary method, the author says. The other method, to carry the execution. But I affirm, on, it is a probable mark of approbation on it, "blood, by man." Why is it? in the image of God. If, according to the law, been only with the death of the reason. Different. I man is, or of cruelty and sanguinary, harmless and ther.

Our author about mr. attempts at the time were in the in the favour now of his procedure who flew from the not put Cal therefore murderers them to do on afterwards ment from let me put the world more immo in Noah rule of re state. A of sense ments are rite and they were continent sided; an tion, del was never some slight finement, of a pecu never fail punisime which of deem the

word." The difference between the modes of expression is very manifest. The ordinance given to Noah is majestic, authoritative, and mandatory. The other sentences are general, and carry the very air of a prediction. But I affirm, were it only a prediction, it is a prediction with an infallible mark of divine approbation stamped on it, "Who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Why so? For what reason? "For in the image of God made he man." If, according to our author, it had been only a prediction, accompanied with the disapprobation of heaven, the reason would have been very different. It would have been, for man is, or will be a savage, a monster of cruelty and injustice, so cruel and sanguinary, as to put to death that harmless animal who murders his brother.

Our author himself is in doubt about Mr. Turner's explication, and attempts another, viz. mankind at the time this command was given, were in the first stage of society, or in the savage state. But what becomes now of his argument drawn from the procedure of the Almighty with Cain who slew his brother Abel? He infers from this, that as the Almighty did not put Cain to death by his own hand, therefore civil society should also let murderers go free, or at least not put them to death. I shall have occasion afterwards to examine this his argument from Cain's case. Mean time, let me put him in mind, that surely the world was younger, and society more immature, in Cain's time, than in Noah's; and therefore, by his rule of reasoning, in a more savage state. And I will leave it to all men of sense and honesty, whose judgments are not warped by some favourite and false hypothesis, to decide, if they were to land on some unknown continent, where different nations resided; and observed, that in one nation, deliberate and malicious murder was never punished by death, but with some slight punishment, such as confinement, labour, or a commutation of a pecuniary nature: in another it never failed of meeting with condign punishment, or blood for blood; which of the two nations would they deem the most savage? I am certain

common sense would consider the first as most barbarous, and the most remote from civilization, justice and equity.

In the book of Numbers, chap. 35, 16—19, we have the policy of the Jewish state on this head set before us. Jehovah resumes the statute given to Noah, incorporates it with the body of the national laws, and establishes it by his divine authority in the most solemn manner. Ten times, within the compass of a few verses, it is repeated, "The murderer shall surely be put to death, and thou shalt take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer." The reason is given, and a weighty one it is, "So ye shall not pollute the land with blood; for blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." Mr. Turner may, if he please, call this only a prediction of what should happen, not what ought to take place: but I think few will believe him. And if our author should call it a typical and ceremonial precept, I think as few will believe him. It would be too tedious to mention all the passages in which the original institution given to Noah is recognized and approved. I shall only notice one or two more taken from the Old Testament. Proverbs 28, 17. "A man that doeth violence to the blood of any person, shall flee to the pit, none shall stay him." Ezekiel 18, 10—13. "If a man beget a son that is a robber, and a shedder of blood, the son shall not live, he shall surely die, his blood shall be upon him."

Let us now cast our eye to the new testament. But before I proceed to this, it is necessary to remark, that Jesus Christ did not act as a civil legislator. He did not appear as an earthly prince, or to set up a temporal kingdom in this world. His kingdom is spiritual, and consists in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. He refused to be made an earthly king. He prescribed no modes of national and civil government, gave no political laws to civil society, did not intermeddle with the police or governments of states; this was altogether foreign to the design of his mission. He gave laws to his church, his own kingdom, which is redeemed by

his blood, called and sanctified by his spirit. And it is clear, that ecclesiastical laws have no temporal penalties annexed to them. "It has been said, (says this divine legislator) an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil. But whosoever shall smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also," &c. *Matth. 5, 38—39.* All this is right and proper in the church, and were a member of Christ's church to commit even murder, and were he by some means or other, either not to be noticed by the state—or, when tried, on account of the want of evidence, or some other cause, acquitted in a civil court, it would be wrong in the church to put him to death, even though he should confess the crime or scandal before the church. Yea, on his giving proper evidence of repentance, the church would not, and could not, according to the laws of Christ, call him out of her communion; and I doubt not, but some, who are justly executed by the state, may die in full communion with the church, and go to heaven. The church can ask no more than sufficient signs of repentance, or tokens of the person's reconciliation to God. There is nothing punitive or vindictive in her censures. She knows nothing of civil pains or penalties. Church discipline is called in scripture a bewailing or lamenting over the offender. But how will this apply to civil policy, or the government of temporal kingdoms? it is absurd thus to blend ecclesiastical discipline with civil policy, or to confound the spiritual kingdom of Christ with the kingdoms of this world, and the laws of the one kingdom with the laws of the others. After making this remark, it is sufficient to ask, does Christ any where condemn the laws of civil society which put murderers to death? does he annul or repeal them? does he thus intermeddle with the governments of men, or give the least hint that such a law in civil society is cruel and unjust? it is certain, that the political system of Moses put the murderer to death; does Christ annul or repeal it? No, he declares, he came not to destroy the law. All the rant and noise, then, about its being contrary to the spirit of christianity, must go for nothing, ex-

cept to prove the injudiciousness of its authors. It is contrary to the spirit of christianity, to commit murder: but perfectly agreeable to it, to put the murderer to death. For Jesus Christ evidently recognizes and approves the original statute given to Noah. This he does, *Matth. 22, 6,* "As the remnant took his servants, and slew them: and when the king heard thereof, he was wroth, and sent forth his armies and destroyed these murderers." It is in vain to say, that this is a parable, and that the king represents the Almighty himself; for it may be asked, in what do kings and magistrates represent God? Doubtless in having the power of executing the laws, wielding the sword of justice, and punishing the wicked. They are God's viceregents, his ministers, and revengers, to execute wrath on him that doeth evil. "By me," says God, "kings reign, and princes decree justice." And it is manifest that Christ speaks of the king's conduct as proper and just, and the destruction of the murderers as altogether righteous. The apostle Paul, in his speech before Festus, the Roman governor, recognizes, and approves it. *Acts 25, 11.* "If I be an offender," says he, "or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." But according to our author, Paul was a fool, a savage; for none of the sons of Adam can commit a crime worthy of death by the hands of men: and therefore if Paul had committed even the barbarous crime of murder, he ought to have refused to die. But O! how wise does the humanity of sceptics and focinians make them!

The same is evident from *Rom. 13,* "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power, do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is a minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." The sword is an instrument of death; it is, by a figure well known in rhetoric, put for the execution of the sentence of death. Now, says Paul

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the magistrate is ordained of God, he bears the sword, and bears it not in vain. He has the power of executing death on the transgressors of the law. He is a revenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil, and surely if any crime can deserve death, murder deserves it. I shall not add any more proofs from God's word: but will only say, heaven forbid! that ever this gentleman's humanity should take place and prevail in our land, for, according to the scriptures, it would defile the land with blood.

It is delightful to observe the coincidence of reason with the doctrine of revelation on this subject.

1. Civil government is certainly moral government, and by it God carries on his moral government of the world. The moral sense, or the indelible impression on the human heart, of right and wrong, of the immutable principles of justice and equity, is just the authoritative voice of God in the soul. It is the divine law ruling in the heart, and wherever the divine law rules, we may safely say, there is the divine government. Now does the crime of murder deserve the stroke of death immediately from the hand of God? This our author does not deny. Therefore I affirm, that the civil magistrate ought to execute it; because he is the minister of God's moral government. It pleases the Supreme Being to conduct the government of this world by a delegated administration, or a subordinate series of secondary causes. The finger of the Almighty is concealed under that thin veil: but it is no less the work of God on that account, and the execution of justice by God's ministers, is God's execution of it, and avenging justice is not excluded from this idea, for says the apostle, the civil magistrate, who is undoubtedly God's officer, "is a revenger to execute wrath on him that doeth evil." I know it will be objected to this argument, that many other crimes deserve death by the immediate stroke of the divine hand, and that according to this, civil rulers ought to execute it. The only answer that this merits, is, Do these crimes come as properly within the magistrate's province? Are they as really political injuries to society, and of as great magnitude? If they be; doubtless

the magistrate ought to punish them in the same manner. But perhaps no crime is a political injury to society equally with murder, and it is certain that none comes more properly under the cognizance of civil authority. Other crimes ought to be punished proportionally to their malignity. Scepticism is nearly allied to atheism. Sceptics exclude the Supreme Being from the government of his own world. They do not see, and will not acknowledge him in his own institutions and laws. They separate created agency from the idea of the divine agency therein, even in those instances where the creature acts according to a divine institution, or by the authority of the divine law. They detach the idea of God's majesty and authority from civil magistracy, which is certainly his institution. Thus, though God be present and visible in all his works, they are so blind, as not to see him in any.

2. It will not be denied by our author, that the grand design of the social union, or of the compact which forms society, is, to protect life, property, and liberty; life as much, if not more than any other of the two. This is an incontrovertible principle. If indeed life was never in danger, and could not possibly be so in the social state, there would be no reason to make the preservation of it an end of the social compact: but all men know that this is far from being the case. If all men were perfectly holy, just, and good, I will not say, that there would be no need for law and government among them; but I am certain, there would be no necessity for coercion, compulsion, or punishment. Laws with severe penalties annexed to them, are made for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers, for manslaughterers; and such there ever have been, and will be in society. Therefore the protection of life is a grand and principal end in the social compact, and institution of civil government. But the compact which is designed to protect life, must in the very nature of things, imply a power to take away the life of the aggressor; because in many cases the life of the innocent could not otherwise be protected. This I think all men must

grant. Our author can deny none of these principles. He cannot deny, that the lives of good men are often in danger from the cruelty, injustice, and ferocity of the bad; nor can he deny that it is the chief end of the institution of civil government to protect the lives of the good; and it is equally certain, that in many cases their lives cannot be protected in any other way, than by taking away the life of the aggressor. All this is diametrically opposite to his nostrum, that men in no cases whatsoever have a right to take away the life of a fellow creature.

3. The social compact is such, that the life, property, and liberty of the whole community, are collected into one common stock, and are committed to the protection of the civil magistracy. This compact is founded on the immutable principles of justice and equity, that is, the life, property, and liberty of each member, shall be safe, while he continues obedient to the fundamental laws of society, and no longer. If these laws be violated by him, he forfeits one or all of these, in proportion to the demerits of his crime. All this is made known to all the members of society, in the penalties annexed to the laws. The preservation of life is the principal object in this compact, as has been said, and the law established for this purpose, is every man's dearest birth-right, and highest privilege. All that a man hath, will he give for his life. If then, it be on certain conditions only, that society engages to protect life; surely, if these conditions be violated, the obligation on society to protect the violator's life, is annihilated by his own consent. He can have no claim to his life by the social compact. Society is under no obligation to protect him. And if he be not protected by society, the relations of the murdered will naturally take vengeance, in doing which they would be warranted by the divine law, and also by society's dropping the protection of him. This would be their right, in a state of nature. But this method of procedure would involve greater difficulties, and perhaps be the occasion of fresh murders; wherefore it is much better to commit the power of executing the sentence of death on him, to the magistracy of the country, than

to leave it in the hands of individuals.

Our author, I suppose, has never had a father, a brother, a wife, or a child murdered by the cruel hands of any ruffian. It is an theory with him. But if ever it be his lot (which may providence prevent) to have a beloved son violently murdered, he will feel otherwise than he does now; his fictitious humanity will evaporate before the strong and irresistible feelings of nature, and perceptions of justice and equity; and his vanity, which prompts him to write in opposition to almost all men, whom he represents as fools and savages, will vanish as chaff before the whirlwind.

4. To punish murder with death, exactly coincides with the grand end and intention of civil government, which is chiefly to prevent crimes. I say chiefly, because there seems to be something more in it. It is the opinion of many, and I cannot see that it is ill-founded, that on some occasions, public justice requires a sacrifice; the majesty of the laws requires it; and without admitting it, the law must appear a very ductile, pliable, trifling thing; instead of having stability, it must be as a reed shaken before the wind. The laws of civil society, founded on the immutable principles of justice, are God's laws; civil courts are his courts; civil magistrates are his ministers. This is the uniform voice of reason; wherefore, on some occasions, I believe, public justice requires a sacrifice. But however this may be, I am certain, that to prevent the commission of crimes, is the principal design of the institution of civil government. How shall this be done? no doubt all previous pains should be taken to form the manners of the people to religion and virtue: but these pains may prove, and often do prove ineffectual. Some men are as the horse or mule, which have no understanding, whose mouth a bridle must command, lest they come near to us. An assassin commits murder. Must we leave it in his power to commit more? he invades God's prerogative, takes away the life of his fellow creature, against law, against justice, without authority; and from the basest principles and motives, robs society of a valuable, useful member, whom so-

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ciety was under the strongest obligations to protect; robs a tender wife of her husband, perhaps a young, helpless family, of an indulgent parent, and commits all this outrage against the laws of God and man, only to gratify his horrid, diabolical passions. Shall the monster live? Shall society run the hazard of his repeating his iniquity? Forbid it, justice! Forbid it, heaven! by his death, God is glorified, the law honoured, public justice satisfied, the land cleansed from blood, and society secured in peace and safety; for while it is effectually put out of his power to repeat his transgression, it is a solemn and awful warning to others, to beware of splitting on the same rock.

5. It is founded on strict justice. The ancient law, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is not a ceremonial precept, nor typical. In the name of wonder, of what could it be a type? It stands on the immoveable foundations of strict justice, equity, and truth. Christ, indeed, repeals it in his church, for there is nothing punitive or vindictive in the censures of the church. Signs of repentance or reconciliation to God are all that is requisite in his spiritual kingdom: but will this author say, that Christ repealed it in civil communities? Did he intermeddle with the policy of states or commonwealths? Did he erect a temporal kingdom in this world? Surely not. The members of his church are, and must be the members of civil communities. Did he advise them not to submit to the laws of equity in such societies? No, his word every where enjoins the contrary. This author will allow, that if he have lent his neighbour a sum of money, it ought to be repaid to him, and that with interest too. He will admit of money for money, pound for pound, and ox for ox; why not, then, eye for eye? Because, he will say, it will be of no service to injured innocence, that the guilty suffer. Herein he is mistaken; it will be the means of preserving the injured person's other eye, and is of infinite service to society, as a caveat against such outrages. And I am of opinion, that greater exactness and promptitude in punishing crimes of inferior magnitude, might tend much to prevent the necessity of capital punishments. From

all which, we may justly infer, that blood for blood, or life for life, is a most just and necessary law; and in proportion as our bodily members and life are more precious and important than property, so should the laws for their preservation, be more strict and severe, and more inflexibly executed.

6. His scheme is either altogether inefficient to gain the purposes of civil government, or it will be most savage, barbarous, and cruel. He is for punishing the murderer with labour. But it is self-evident, that he cannot labour with his hands and feet in chains, nor without a guard continually waiting on him. If his hands and feet be loose, the blood-thirsty wretch will have it in his power to commit murders without end; the life of every man near him will be in danger. He knows the worst that can befall him. Men cannot by the law make his condition more afflictive and miserable, than it is, and it is well known, that when a man has once imbrued his hands in blood, he will not be very scrupulous about repeating the horrid transgression; evil habits grow fast. All men enter the dark path of vice with fear; but as they advance, they become more bold, and assume courage. Or if he be for confining the criminal continually in a dungeon and in irons, this would be to kill him by inches; it is like putting him to death in a slow manner, on the rack or wheel; which would be most barbarous and savage indeed; and like delighting in human misery. And I do not see, but that on his absurd principles of humanity, he must starve him to death, for otherwise, the desperate creature may have it in his power at one time or another, by one means or another, to murder at least the person who supplies him with food. Our author throws out one very shocking idea, "Let him live, (says he) to support by his labour that family which he has robbed of a father, or other valuable member." I will put a question home to his feelings; supposing a midnight robber were to murder him, while sleeping securely, as he vainly imagined, under the protection of the laws, how would his lady and children relish the food which, in this case, and on his plan, might be called the price of his blood?

Finally by a divine and yet a human institution, viz. marriage, we lawfully receive life. By a divine and yet a human institution, viz. civil government, our life is preserved, and therefore, by a similar institution, or by divine and human laws, the life of a murderer may be lawfully taken away. The whole course of divine providence favours and supports this opinion. God, in innumerable instances, makes it manifest, that he is not an idle or careless spectator of the wickedness of men. The footsteps of the divine majesty may be clearly traced in his government of the world. He makes it evident that verily there is a God who judgeth in the earth. This is wonderfully verified in the almost universal detection of the unnatural crime of murder, and in bringing the perpetrators to condign punishment, by a chain of providences, which the wisdom of man had no hand in forming, and of which the criminal himself had neither the smallest foresight nor fear. Many such examples are on record, and incontrovertibly authenticated: and I wish they had all been preserved, and might in future be so. It would be for the interest of nations to preserve and publish authentic registers of such things.

Finally, the universal consent of mankind, and the consent even of the murderers themselves, when in their right minds, confirms the argument. All nations, in all ages, have agreed in this truth, that the murderer should not be permitted to live. Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, barbarous and civilized nations unanimously concur in it. The barbarians, on the island Melita, now Malta, said of Paul, when they saw the viper fasten on his hand, "surely this man is a murderer, whom, though he have escaped the dangers of the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live." It is like one of these self-evident truths, to which reason assents as soon as it is proposed. It seems to be almost as evident as that there is a God, a providence, that God is righteous and just, and will, in his holy providence, avenge the guilty, and reward the righteous. And I think it cannot be denied, that in the ordinary course of his government, he doeth this by the

agency and ministry of his creatures, though sometimes he may step out of his ordinary way. By the ministry of angels, he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; and by the ministry of honest and upright magistrates, he cuts off the wicked, administers moral government, and supports order and justice among men. It is wrong in this writer to combat the divine institutions, the divine laws, and the immutable principles of justice and equity: or to attempt to overthrow the eternal foundations of God's moral government. Such sentiments appear nonsensical to men who consider what they say, or maturely think, before they affirm. He indeed attempts to enervate this argument, by alleging that all nations have agreed in favouring slavery: but even supposing this were true, it will not prove the inclusiveness of the other argument. Because nations are not perfect; this will not prove that there is nothing good about them. Because they have been wrong in too much encouraging slavery, this will not prove, that they are wrong in believing the existence of a Supreme Being, and administering justice. But on his plan, we should have slavery in abundance, because a slight punishment would multiply murders, and according to his plan, all murderers must be for ever slaves. But it is not true, that the encouraging of slavery has been, and is, as universal as the punishing of murder by death. Far from it. And I appeal on this head to all men acquainted with the history both of the past or present ages. It is needless to enter on the detail, it is a notorious truth. It is true that all ages, in all nations, have seen the necessity of supporting the relation of master and servant; and this is a relation divinely instituted, and essential to the existence and welfare of society. Slavery is carrying the divine institution beyond its due bounds; it is only a partial abuse of a good and lawful thing. But what degrees are there in death? I believe indeed that the punishing murderers with torture, and putting them to unnecessary pain, as in the recent instance at Martinico, is an abuse of the divine institution on this head, similar to that of abusing the lawful relation of master and servant

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to slavery. He further says, that the empress of Russia, the king of Sweden, and duke of Tuscany, do not punish murder by death: and for this reason, he calls them the wisest legislators in Europe. A fine reason indeed! and can it be so, that the supreme wisdom in legislation shines in the barbarous nation of Russia, which but a few years ago only emerged from the depths of barbarism, and attained any tolerable degree of civilization? or can it shine with such lustre in the dark regions of Sweden, their near neighbours? or among the bigotted superstitious papists of Tuscany? I can scarcely believe it. I with our author had dilated more on what he has so bluntly asserted. He should have given his authority, and mentioned what they have substituted in the place of the common punishment. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the internal police of these nations, to contradict him; and yet I am not altogether willing to take his word for it, without further illustration. Punishments of some kind they must have. Are there no public executions in these nations? it would be absurd to put any others to death, and spare murderers. Perhaps it is horrid cruelty that attuates them. Possibly they throw them into the mines, to die there by inches. Is the spirit of christianity more powerful among the Russians and Swedes, than any where else? there is little reason to think it. If the fact be so, I am apt to think, it is owing to the imperfect administration of justice among them. It is certain, that the great czar, Peter the first, was not squeamish about taking away life. He ordered a nobleman to immediate execution, for only killing the hand of his queen, as he helped her out of her coach; and took care next day to take the queen to see the sight. He used to hang up in dozens, the robbers that infested his kingdom, and left them on hooks fastened through their ribs, to wringe out their lives in the most excruciating torture. He was not very squeamish neither, about making war on his neighbours. The present empress thinks not much of shedding the blood of thousands of Turks, and of her own subjects, in a contention about the right of dominion over a small corner of this earth.

And I wonder what this wise christian princess has done with her husband, whose throne she usurped some years ago, while the quietly slipped him out of the way of her ambition! All the world knows the mad bloody freaks of Charles XII. of Sweden; and these very humane people are now falling pell-mell on their humane and wise neighbours the Russians.

On this head, I may mention the consent of murderers themselves. Very few comparatively have been executed for the crime of murder, who have not confessed their guilt, and that their punishment was just. Some, who have died sincere penitents, who have been divinely illuminated and blessed with faith in Christ, and hopes of pardon and eternal life, in full possession of their reason, perfectly in their right minds, and possessing the spirit of Christ, have, with the utmost contrition and humiliation, acknowledged the justice of God and man in their punishment. The penitent thief on the cross, who probably had been concerned with Barrabbas in sedition and murder, speaks to this purpose. "We suffer justly for our faults," says he. I will mention another, who was executed at Cambridge, near to Boston, a few years ago. This man's name was A——— W———. He murdered the master of a small coasting vessel at sea, but was soon apprehended. As he owns himself, he had invented various ways to charge the guilt on a passenger in the vessel; but after being secured in prison, he fell under a most powerful work of conviction, and finally obtained comfort, by being enlightened in the knowledge of the way of salvation by faith in Christ's blood, and the mercy of God to the chief of sinners through that blood. He then freely confessed his guilt: on his trial before the court, he was told, that pleading not guilty, was no more than putting himself on trial by his country. "I know it," says he, "I know it. But my conscience tells me, that I am guilty before God and man, and therefore I will confess it, though I believe, added he, the evidence would not be sufficient to convict me. I deserve to die by the law of God and man. I have forfeited my life to justice, and I

don't wish to retain it. He pleaded guilty twice before the court, and died in the most believing, penitential, melting, and joyful frame, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost: but invariably confessed the justice of his sentence. I have now in my study, the sermon preached before his execution, and two printed letters written by him in prison, which fully attest these facts; and would depend more on such a solemn certain evidence as this, than on the sophisticated arguments, false reasoning, and deceitful colouring of all the sceptics and foci-nians, from the beginning of the world to the end of time; though on this alone, I do not rest the weight of my argument.

(To be continued.)

The Pennsylvania farmer's letters.
By the hon. John Dickinson, esq.

(Continued from page 378.)

LETTER III.

My dear countrymen,

I REJOICE to find that my two former letters to you, have been generally received with so much favour by such of you, whose sentiments I have had an opportunity of knowing. Could you look into my heart, you would instantly perceive a zealous attachment to your interests, and a lively resentment of every insult and injury offered to you, to be the motives that have engaged me to address you.

I am no further concerned in any thing affecting America, than any one of you; and when liberty leaves it, I can quit it much more conveniently than most of you. But, while divine providence, that gave me existence in a land of freedom, permits my head to think, my lips to speak, and my hand to move, I shall so highly and gratefully value the blessing received, as to take care, that my silence and inactivity shall not give my implied assent to any act, degrading my brethren and myself from the birthright, wherewith heaven itself "hath made us free."

Sorry I am to learn, that there are some few persons, who shake their heads with solemn motion, and pretend to wonder, what can be the

meaning of these letters. "Great Britain," they say, "is too powerful to contend with; she is determined to oppress us; it is in vain to speak of right on one side, when there is power on the other; when we are strong enough to resist, we shall attempt it; but now we are not strong enough, and therefore we had better be quiet; it signifies nothing to convince us that our rights are invaded, when we cannot defend them; and if we should get into riots and tumults about the late act, it will only draw down heavier displeasure upon us."

What can such men design? What do their grave observations amount to, but this—"that these colonies, totally regardless of their liberties, should commit them, with humble resignation, to chance, time, and the tender mercies of ministers?"

Are these men ignorant, that usurpations, which might have been successfully opposed at first, acquire strength by continuance, and thus become irresistible? Do they condemn the conduct of these colonies, concerning the stamp-act? Or have they forgot its successful issue? Ought the colonies, at that time, instead of acting as they did, to have trusted for relief to the fortuitous events of futurity? If it is needless "to speak of rights" now, it was as needless then. If the behaviour of the colonies was prudent and glorious then, and successful too; it will be equally prudent and glorious to act in the same manner now, if our rights are equally invaded, and may be as successful. Therefore it becomes necessary to enquire, whether "our rights are invaded." To talk of "defending" them, as if they could be no other-wise "defended" than by arms, is as much out of the way, as if a man having a choice of several roads to reach his journey's end, should prefer the worst, for no other reason, but because it is the worst.

As to "riots and tumults," the gentlemen who are so apprehensive of them, are much mistaken, if they think, that grievances cannot be redressed without such assistance.

I will now tell the gentlemen, what is, "the meaning of these letters." The meaning of them is, to convince the people of these colonies, that they

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are at this moment exposed to the most imminent dangers; and to persuade them immediately, vigorously, and unanimously, to exert themselves in the most firm, but most peaceable manner, for obtaining relief.

The cause of liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. Those who engage in it, ought to breathe a sedate, yet fervent spirit, animating them to actions of prudence, justice, modesty, bravery, humanity, and magnanimity.

To such a wonderful degree were the ancient Spartans, as brave and free a people as ever existed, inspired by this happy temperature of soul, that rejecting even in their battles the use of trumpets, and other instruments for exciting heat and rage, they marched up to scenes of havoc, and horror*, with the sound of flutes, to the tunes of which their steps kept pace—"exhibiting," as Plutarch says, "at once, a terrible and delightful sight, and proceeding with a deliberate valour, full of hope and good assurance, as if some divinity had sensibly assisted them."

I hope, my dear countrymen, that you will, in every colony, be upon your guard against those who may at any time endeavour to stir you up, under pretences of patriotism, to any measures disrespectful to our sovereign and our mother country. Hot, rash, disorderly proceedings, injure the reputation of a people, as to wisdom, valour, and virtue, without procuring them the least benefit. I pray God, that he may be pleased to inspire you and your posterity, to the latest ages, with a spirit, of which I have an idea, but find a difficulty to express. To express it in the best manner I can; I mean a spirit that shall to guide you, that it will be impossible to determine whether an American's character is most distinguishable for his loyalty to his sovereign, his duty to his mother country, his love of freedom, or his affection for his native soil.

Every government at some time or

NOTE.

* Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus. Archbishop Potter's *Archæologia Græca*.

other, falls into wrong measures. These may proceed from mistake or passion. But every such measure does not dissolve the obligation between the governors and the governed. The mistake may be corrected; the passion may subside. It is the duty of the governed to endeavour to rectify the mistake, and to appease the passion. They have not at first any other right, than to represent their grievances, and to pray for redress, unless an emergency is so pressing, as not to allow time for receiving an answer to their applications, which rarely happens. If their applications are disregarded, then that kind of opposition becomes justifiable, which can be made without breaking the laws, or disturbing the public peace.

This consists in the prevention of the oppressors reaping advantage from their oppressions, and not in their punishment. For experience may teach them what reason did not; and harsh methods cannot be proper till milder ones have failed.

If at length it becomes undoubted, that an inveterate resolution is formed to annihilate the liberties of the governed, the English history affords frequent examples of resistance by force. What particular circumstances will in any future case justify such resistance, can never be ascertained till they happen. Perhaps it may be allowable to say generally, that it never can be justifiable, until the people are fully convinced, that any further submission will be destructive to their happiness. When the appeal is made to the sword, highly probable is it, that the punishment will exceed the offence; and the calamities attending on war outweigh those preceding it. These considerations of justice and prudence, will always have great influence with good and wise men.

To these reflections on this subject, it remains to be added, and ought forever to be remembered, that resistance, in the case of colonies against their mother country, is extremely different from the resistance of a people against their prince. A nation may change their king, or race of kings, and, retaining their ancient form of government, be gainers by changing. Thus Great-Britain, under the illustrious house of Brunswick, a house

that seems to flourish for the happiness of mankind, has found a felicity, unknown in the reigns of the Stewarts. But if once we are separated from our mother country, what new form of government shall we adopt, or where shall we find another Britain, to supply our loss? Torn from the body, to which we are united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language and commerce, we must bleed at every vein.

In truth—the prosperity of these provinces is founded in their dependence on Great-Britain; and when she returns to her “old good humour, and her old good nature,” as lord Clarendon expresses it, I hope they will always think it their duty and interest, as it most certainly will be, to promote her welfare by all the means in their power.

We cannot act with too much caution in our disputes. Anger produces anger; and differences, that might be accommodated by kind and respectful behaviour, may, by imprudence, be enlarged to an incurable rage. In quarrels between countries, as well as in those between individuals, when they have risen to a certain height, the first cause of dissension is no longer remembered, the minds of the parties being wholly engaged in recollecting and resenting the mutual expressions of their dislike. When feuds have reached that fatal point, all considerations of reason and equity vanish; and a blind fury governs, or rather confounds all things. A people no longer regards their interest, but the gratification of their wrath. The sway of the † Cleons and Cloduses, the designing and detestable flatterers of the prevailing passion, becomes confirmed. Wise and good men in vain oppose the storm, and may think themselves fortunate, if, in attempting to preserve their ungrateful fellow citizens, they do not ruin themselves. Their prudence will be called baseness; their moderation will be called guilt; and if their virtue does not lead them to destruction, as that

NOTE.

† Cleon was a popular firebrand of Athens, and Clodius of Rome; each of whom plunged his country into the deepest calamities.

of many other great and excellent persons has done, they may survive to receive from their expiring country the mournful glory of her acknowledgement, that their counsels, if regarded, would have saved her.

The expressly-constitutional mode of obtaining relief, are those which I wish to see pursued on the present occasion; that is, by petitions of our assemblies, or where they are not permitted to meet, of the people, to the powers that can afford us relief.

We have an excellent prince, in whose good dispositions towards us we may confide. We have a generous, sensible and humane nation, to whom we may apply. They may be deceived. They may by artful men, be provoked to anger against us. I cannot believe they will be cruel or unjust; or that their anger will be implacable. Let us behave like dutiful children, who have received unmerited blows from a beloved parent. Let us complain to our parent; but let our complaints speak at the same time the language of affliction and veneration.

If, however, it shall happen by an unfortunate course of affairs, that our applications to his majesty and the parliament for redress, prove ineffectual, let us then take another step, by withholding from Great-Britain all the advantages she has been used to receive from us. Then let us try, if our ingenuity, industry, and frugality, will not give weight to our remonstrances. Let us all be united with one spirit, in one cause. Let us invent—let us work—let us save—let us continually keep up our claim, and incessantly repeat our complaints—But, above all, let us explore the protestation of that infinitely good and gracious Being*, “by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice.”

Nil desperandum.

Nothing is to be despaired of.

LETTER IV.

My dear countrymen,

AN objection, I hear, has been made against my second letter, which I would willingly clear up before I proceed. “There is,” say these objectors, “a material difference be-

NOTE.

* Prov. viii. 15.

between the stamp act, and the late act for laying a duty on paper, &c. that justifies the conduct of those who opposed the former, and yet are willing to submit to the latter. The duties imposed by the stamp-act, were internal taxes: but the present are external, and therefore the parliament may have a right to impose them."

To this I answer, with a total denial of the power of parliament to lay upon these colonies any "tax" whatever.

This point, being so important to this, and to succeeding generations, I wish to be clearly understood.

To the word "tax," I annex that meaning which the constitution and history of England require to be annexed to it; that is—that it is an imposition on the subject, for the sole purpose of levying money.

In the early ages of our monarchy, certain services were rendered to the crown for the general good. These were personal*: but in process of time, such institutions being found inconvenient, gifts and grants of their own property were made by the peo-

ple, under the several names of aids, tallages, tasks, taxes, and subsidies, &c. These were made, as may be collected even from the names, for public service upon "need and necessity†." All these sums were levied upon the people by virtue of their voluntary gift*. Their design was to support

NOTES.

† 4th Inst. p. 23.

* *Reges Angliæ, nihil tale, nisi convocatis primis ordinibus, et assensiente populo, suscipiunt.* Phil. Communes, 2d. Inst.

These gifts entirely depending on the pleasure of the donors, were proportioned to the abilities of the several ranks of people who gave, and were regulated by their opinion of the public necessities. Thus Edward I. had in his 11th year a thirtieth from the laity, a twentieth from the clergy; in his 22d year, a tenth from the laity, a sixth from London, and other corporate towns, half of their benefits from the clergy; in his 23d year an eleventh from the barons and others, a tenth from the clergy, a seventh from the burgesses, &c. Hume's History of England.

The same difference in the grants of the several ranks is observable in other reigns.

In the famous statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, the king enumerates the several classes, without whose consent, he and his heirs never should set or levy any tax—"nullum tallagium, vel auxilium per nos, vel hæredes nostros in regno nostro ponatur seu levetur, sine voluntate et assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, militum, burgensium, et aliorum liberorum com. de regno nostro." 34th Edward I.

Lord chief justice Coke, in his comment on these words, says—"for the quieting of the commons, and for a perpetual and constant law for ever after, both in this and other like cases, this act was made. These words are plain, without any scruple, absolute without any saving." 2d Coke's Inst. p. 532, 533. Little did the venerable judge imagine, that "other like cases" would happen, in which the spirit of this law would be despised by Englishmen, the posterity of those who made it.

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* It is very worthy of remark, how watchful our wise ancestors were, lest their services should be increased beyond what the law allowed. No man was bound to go out of the realm to serve the king. Therefore even in the conquering reign of Henry the fifth, when the martial spirit of the nation was highly inflamed by the heroic courage of their prince, and by his great success, they still carefully guarded against the establishment of illegal services. "When this point (says lord chief justice Coke) concerning maintenance of wars out of England, came in question, the commons did make their continual claim of their ancient freedom and birthright, as in the first of Henry the fifth, and in the seventh of Henry the fifth, &c. the commons made a protest, that they were not bound to the maintenance of war in Scotland, Ireland, Calice, France, Normandy, or other foreign parts, and caused their protests to be entered into the parliament rolls, where they yet remain; which, in effect, agreeeth with that which, upon like occasion, was made in the parliament of 15 Edward I." 2d Inst. p. 528.

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the national honour and interest. Some of those grants comprehended duties arising from trade; being imposts on merchandises. These lord chief justice Coke classes under "subsidies," and "parliamentary aids." They are also called, "customs." But whatever the name was, they were always considered as gifts of the people to the crown, to be employed for public uses.

Commerce was at a low ebb, and surprising instances might be produced, how little it was attended to for a succession of ages. The terms that have been mentioned, and, among the rest, that of "tax," had obtained a national, parliamentary meaning, drawn from the principles of the constitution, long before any Englishman thought of imposition of duties for the regulation of trade.

Whenever we speak of "taxes" among Englishmen, let us therefore speak of them with reference to the principles on which, and the intentions with which they have been established. This will give certainty to our expression, and safety to our conduct: but if, when we have in view the liberty of these colonies, we proceed in any other course, we pursue a *Juno** indeed, but shall only catch a cloud.

In the national, parliamentary sense insisted on, the word "tax†" was certainly understood by the congress at New-York, whose resolves may be said to form the American "bill of rights."

The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth resolves, are thus expressed.

III. "That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that ‡ no tax be imposed on them,

NOTES.

* The goddess of empire, in the heathen mythology; according to an ancient fable, Ixion pursued her, but she escaped in a cloud.

† In this sense Montesquieu uses the word "tax," in his 13th book of *Spirit of Laws*.

‡ The rough draught of the resolves of the congress at New-York is now in my hands, and from some notes on that draught, and other particular reasons, I am satisfied that the congress understood the word "tax" in the sense here contended for.

but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

IV. "That the people of the colonies are not, and from their local circumstances, cannot be represented in the house of commons in Great Britain.

V. "That the only representatives of the people of the colonies are the persons chosen therein by themselves; and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. "That all supplies to the crown, being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable, and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonies."

Here is no distinction made between internal and external taxes. It is evident from the short reasoning thrown into these resolves, that every imposition "to grant to his majesty the property of the colonies," was thought a "tax;" and that every such imposition, if laid any other way than "with their consent, given personally, or by their representatives," was not only "unreasonable, and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution," but destructive "to the freedom of a people."

This language is clear and important. A "tax" means an imposition to raise money. Such persons therefore as speak of internal and external "taxes," I pray, may pardon me, if I object to that expression, as applied to the privileges and interests of these colonies. There may be internal and external impositions, founded on different principles, and having different tendencies; every "tax" being an imposition, tho' every imposition is not a "tax." But all taxes are founded on the same principle; and have the same tendency.

External impositions, for the regulation of our trade, do not "grant to his majesty the property of the colonies." They only prevent the colonies acquiring property, in things not necessary, in a manner judged to be injurious to the welfare of the whole empire. But the last statute respecting us, "grants to his majesty the

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property of the colonies," by laying duties on the manufactures of Great-Britain which they must take, and which she settled on them, on purpose that they should take.

What * tax can be more internal

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* It seems to be evident, that Mr. Pitt, in his defence of America, during the debate concerning the repeal of the stamp-act, by "internal taxes," meant any duties "for the purpose of raising a revenue;" and by "external taxes," meant duties imposed "for the regulation of trade." His expressions are these—"If the gentleman does not understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter."

These words were in Mr. Pitt's reply to Mr. Grenville, who said he could not understand the difference between external and internal taxes.

In every other part of his speeches on that occasion, his words confirm this construction of his expressions. The following extracts will shew how positive and general were his assertions of our right.

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies."—"The Americans are the sons, not the ballads of England. Taxation is no part of the governing and legislative power."—"The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to clothe with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone."—"The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it." "The idea of

than this? Here is money drawn, without their consent, from a society, who have constantly enjoyed a constitutional mode of raising all money among themselves. The payment of this tax they have no possible method of avoiding; as they cannot do without the commodities on which it is laid, and they cannot manufacture these commodities themselves. Besides, if this unhappy country should be so lucky as to elude this act, by getting parchment enough, in the place of paper, or by reviving the ancient method of writing on wax and bark, and by inventing something to serve instead of glass, her ingenuity would stand her in little stead; for then the parliament would have nothing to do but to prohibit such manufactures, or to lay a tax on hats and

NOTE.

a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man.—It does not deserve a serious refutation."

He afterwards shews the unreasonableness of Great-Britain taxing America, thus—"When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from my office. I speak therefore from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profit to Great-Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, three score years ago, are three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchase; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection."—"I dare not say how much higher these profits may be augmented."—"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion; it is, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle."

woollen cloths, which they have already prohibited the colonies from supplying each other with; or on instruments, and tools of steel and iron, which they have prohibited the provincials from manufacturing at all †: And then, what little gold and silver they have, must be torn from their hands, or they will not be able, in a short time, to get an axe †, for cutting their firewood, nor a plough, for raising their food. In what respect, therefore, I beg leave to ask, is the late act preferable to the stamp-act, or more consistent with the liberties of the colonies? For my own part, I regard them both with equal apprehensions; and think they ought to be in the same manner opposed.

*Habemus quidem senatus consultum,
—tanquam gladium in vagina repositum.*

We have a statute, laid up for future use, like a sword in the scabbard.

LETTER V.

My dear countrymen,

PERHAPS the objection to the late act, imposing duties upon paper, &c. might have been safely rested on the argument drawn from the universal conduct of parliaments and ministers, from the first existence of these colonies, to the administration of Mr. Grenville.

What but the indisputable, the acknowledged exclusive right of the co-

NOTES.

† “And that pig and bar iron, made in his majesty's colonies in America, may be further manufactured in this kingdom, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, 1750, no mill, or other engine, for fixing or rolling of iron, or any playing forge, to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected: or, after such erection, continue in any of his majesty's colonies in America.” 23d. George II, chap. 29. sect. 9.

† Though these particulars are mentioned as being absolutely necessary, yet perhaps they are not more so than glass in our severe winters, to keep out the cold from our houses; or than paper, without which such inexpressible confusions must ensue.

lonies to tax themselves, could be the reason, that in this long period of more than one hundred and fifty years, no statute was ever passed for the purpose of raising a revenue on the colonies? and how clear, how cogent must that reason be, to which even parliament, and every minister, for so long a time submitted, without a single attempt to innovate?

England, in part of that course of years, and Great Britain, in other parts, was engaged in several fierce and expensive wars; troubled with some tumultuous and bold parliaments; governed by many daring and wicked ministers; yet none of them ever ventured to touch the palladium of American liberty. Ambition, avarice, faction, tyranny, all revered it. Whenever it was necessary to raise money on the colonies, the requisitions of the crown were made, and dutifully complied with. The parliament, from time to time, regulated their trade, and that of the rest of the empire, to preserve their dependence, and the connexion of the whole in good order.

The people of Great Britain, in support of their privileges, boast much of their antiquity. It is true they are ancient; yet it may well be questioned, if there is a single privilege of a British subject, supported by longer, more solemn, or more uninterrupted testimony, than the exclusive right of taxation in these colonies. The people of Great Britain consider that kingdom as the sovereign of these colonies, and would now annex to that sovereignty a prerogative never heard of before. How would they bear this, was the case their own? what would they think of a new prerogative claimed by the crown? we may guess what their conduct would be, from the transports of passion into which they fell about the late embargo, though had to relieve the most emergent necessities of state, admitting of no delay; and for which there were numerous precedents. Let our liberties be treated with the same tenderness, and it is all we desire.

Explicit as the conduct of parliaments, for so many ages, is, to prove that no money can be levied on these colonies by parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue, yet it is not the only evidence in our favour.

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Every one of the most material arguments against the legality of the stamp-act, operates with equal force against the act now objected to; but as they are well known, it seems unnecessary to repeat them here.

This general one only shall be considered at present: that though these colonies are dependent on Great Britain; and though she has a legal power to make laws for preserving that dependence: yet it is not necessary for this purpose, nor essential to the relation between a mother country and her colonies, as was eagerly contended by the advocates for the stamp act, that she should raise money on them without their consent.

Colonies were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe; to relieve their country, overburdened with inhabitants; or to discharge a number of discontented and troublesome citizens. But in more modern ages, the spirit of violence being in some measure, if the expression may be allowed, sheathed in commerce, colonies have been settled by the nations of Europe for the purposes of trade. These purposes were to be attained, by the colonies raising for their mother country those things which she did not produce herself; and by supplying themselves from her with things they wanted. These were the national objects in the commencement of our colonies, and have been uniformly so in their promotion.

To answer these grand purposes, perfect liberty was known to be necessary; all history proving, that trade and freedom are nearly related to each other. By a due regard to this wise and just plan, the infant colonies, exposed in the unknown climates and unexplored wildernesses of this new world, lived, grew, and flourished.

The parent country, with undeviating prudence and virtue, attentive to the first principles of colonization, drew to herself the benefits she might reasonably expect, and preserved to her children the blessings, on which those benefits were founded. She made laws, obliging her colonies to carry to her all those products which she wanted for her own use; and all those raw materials which she chose herself to work up. Besides this restriction, she forbade them to procure

manufactures from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which alone could rival her, without being first brought to her. In short, by a variety of laws, she regulated their trade in such a manner as she thought most conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own welfare. A power was reserved to the crown of repealing any laws that should be enacted: the executive authority of government was also lodged in the crown, and its representatives; and an appeal was secured to the crown from all judgments in the administration of justice.

For all these powers, established by the mother country over the colonies; for all these immense emoluments derived by her from them; for all their difficulties and distresses in fixing themselves, what was the recompence made them? a communication of her rights in general, and particularly of that great one, the foundation of all the rest—that their property, acquired with so much pain and hazard, should be disposed of by none but themselves—or, to use the beautiful and emphatic language of the sacred scriptures †, “that they should sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none should make them afraid.”

Can any man of candour and knowledge deny, that these insinuations form an affinity between Great Britain and her colonies, that sufficiently secure their dependence upon her? or that for her to levy taxes upon them, is to reverse the nature of things? or that she can pursue such a measure, without reducing them to a state of vassalage?

If any person cannot conceive the supremacy of Great Britain to exist, without the power of laying taxes to levy money upon us, the history of the colonies, and of Great Britain, since their settlement, will prove the contrary. He will there find the amazing advantages arising to her from

NOTES.

* “The power of taxing themselves, was the privilege of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous.” Hume’s history of England.

† Mic. iv. 4.

them—the constant exercise of her supremacy—and their filial submission to it, without a single rebellion, or even the thought of one, from their first emigration to this moment—and all these things have happened, without one instance of Great Britain's laying taxes to levy money upon them.

How many * British authors have

NOTE.

* It has been said in the house of commons, when complaints have been made of the decay of trade to any part of Europe, "That such things were not worth regard, as Great-Britain was possessed of colonies that could consume more of her manufactures than she was able to supply them with."

"As the case now stands, we shall shew that the plantations are a spring of wealth to this nation, that they work for us, that their treasure centres all here, and that the laws have tied them fast enough to us: so that it must be through our own fault and mismanagement, if they become independent of England." Davenant on the plantation trade.

"It is better that the islands should be supplied from the northern colonies than from England; for this reason, the provisions we might send to Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. would be unimproved product of the earth, as grain of all kinds, or such products where there is little got by the improvement, as malt, salt beef, and pork; indeed the exportation of salt fish thither would be more advantageous, but the goods which we send to the northern colonies, are such whose improvement may be justly said, one with another, to be near four fifths of the value of the whole commodity, as apparel, household furniture, and many other things." *Idem.*

"New-England is the most prejudicial plantation to the kingdom of England; and yet to do right to that most industrious English colony, I must confess, that though we lose by their unlimited trade with other foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade from old England. Our yearly exportation of English manufactures, malt and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value

demonstrated, that the present wealth, power, and glory of their country, are founded upon these colonies? As constantly as streams tend to the ocean; have they been pouring the fruits of all their labours into their mother's lap. Good heaven! and shall a total oblivion of former tenderesses and blessings, be spread over the minds

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of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature consideration, and, peradventure, upon as much experience in this very trade, as any other person will pretend to; and therefore, whenever reformation of our correspondency in trade with that people shall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderness, and very serious circumspection." Sir Josiah Child's discourse on trade.

"Our plantations spend mostly our English manufactures, and those of all sorts almost imaginable, in egregious quantities, and employ near two thirds of all our English shipping; so that we have more people in England, by reason of our plantations in America." *Idem.*

Sir Josiah Child says, in another part of his work, "That not more than fifty families are maintained in England by the refining of sugar." From whence, and from what Davenant says, it is plain, that the advantages here said to be derived from the plantations by England, must be meant chiefly of the continental colonies.

"I shall sum up my whole remarks on our American colonies, with this observation, that as they are a certain annual revenue of several millions sterling to their mother country, they ought carefully to be protected, duly encouraged, and every opportunity that presents, improved for their increment and advantage, as every one they can possibly reap, must at last return to us with interest." Beawe's Lex. Merc. Red.

"We may safely advance, that our trade and navigation are greatly increased by our colonies, and that they really are a source of treasure and naval power to this kingdom, since they work for us, and their treasure centres here. Before their settlement,

of a good and wise nation, by the fordid arts of intriguing men, who, covering their selfish projects under pretences of public good, first enrage their countrymen into a frenzy of passion, and then advance their own influence and interest, by gratifying the passion, which they themselves have basely excited?

NOTE.

our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent; the number of English merchants very small, and the whole shipping of the nation much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies only. These are certain facts. But since their establishment, our condition has altered for the better, almost to a degree beyond credibility.—Our manufactures are prodigiously increased, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at least take off one half, and supply us with many valuable commodities for exportation, which is as great an emolument to the mother kingdom, as to the plantations themselves." *Postlethwayt's univ. dict. of trade and commerce.*

"Most of the nations of Europe have interfered with us, more or less, in divers of our staple manufactures, within half a century, not only in our woollen, but in our lead and tin manufactures, as well as our fisheries." *Postlethwayt, ibid.*

"The inhabitants of our colonies, by carrying on trade with their foreign neighbours do not only occasion a greater quantity of the goods and merchandise of Europe being sent from hence to them, and a greater quantity of the produce of America to be sent from them hither, which would otherwise be carried from and brought to Europe by foreigners, but an increase of the seamen and navigation in those parts, which is of great strength and security, as well as of great advantage to our plantations in general. And though some of our colonies are not only for preventing the importation of all goods of the same species they produce, but suffer particular planters to keep great runs of land in their possession uncultivated, with design to prevent new settlements, whereby they imagine the prices of their commodities may be affected; yet if it be consider-

Hitherto Great-Britain has been contented with her prosperity. Moderation has been the rule of her conduct. But now, a generous humane people, that so often has protected the liberty of strangers, is inflamed into an attempt to tear a privilege from her own children, which, if executed, must, in their opinion, sink

NOTE.

ed, that the markets of Great-Britain depend on the markets of all Europe in general, and that the European markets in general depend on the proportion between the annual consumption and the whole quantity of each species annually produced by all nations; it must follow, that whether we or foreigners are the producers, carriers, importers, and exporters of American produce, yet their respective prices in each colony (the difference of freight, customs, and importations considered) will always bear proportion to the general consumption of the whole quantity of each sort, produced in all colonies, and in all parts, allowing only for the usual contingencies that trade and commerce, agriculture and manufactures, are liable to in all countries." *Postlethwayt, ibid.*

"It is certain, that from the very time sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our English colonies, and his associates, first projected these establishments, there have been persons who have found an interest, in misrepresenting, or lessening the value of them.—The attempts were called chimerical and dangerous. Afterwards many malignant suggestions were made about sacrificing so many Englishmen to the obstinate desire of settling colonies in countries which then produced very little advantage. But as these difficulties were gradually surmounted, those complaints vanished. No sooner were these lamentations over, but others arose in their stead: when it could be no longer said, that the colonies were useless, it was alleged that they were not useful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes, they were absolutely free: that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of England laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence."—*Postlethwayt, ibid.*

"Before the settlement of these

them into slaves: and for what? For a pernicious power, not necessary to her, as her own experience may convince her; but horribly dreadful and detestably to them.

It seems extremely probable, that when cool, dispassionate posterity shall consider the affectionate intercourse, the reciprocal benefits, and

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colonies," says Postlethwayt, "our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days we had not only our naval stores, but our ships from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from France. Portugal supplied us with sugar; all the products of America were poured in to us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East-Indies, at their own price.

"If it be asked, whether foreigners, for what goods they take of us, do not pay on that consumption a great portion of our taxes? It is admitted they do." Postlethwayt's Great-Britain's true system.

"If we are afraid that one day or other the colonies will revolt, and set up for themselves, as some seem to apprehend, let us not drive them to a necessity to feel themselves independent of us; as they will do, the moment they perceive that they can be supplied with all things from within themselves, and do not need our assistance. If we would keep them still dependent upon their mother country, and, in some respects, subservient to her views and welfare, let us make it their interest always to be so," Tucker on trade.

"Our colonies, while they have English blood in their veins, and have relations in England, and while they can get by trading with us, the stronger and the greater they grow, the more this crown and kingdom will get by them; and nothing but such an arbitrary power as shall make them desperate, can bring them to rebel." Davenant on the plantation trade.

"The northern colonies are not upon the same footing as those of the south; and having a worse soil to

the unsuspecting confidence, that have subsisted between these colonies and their parent country, for such a length of time, they will execrate, with the bitterest curses, the infamous memory of those men, whose pestilential ambition unnecessarily, wantonly, cruelly, first opened the sources of civil discord between them; first turned

NOTE.

improve, they must find the recompence some other way, which only can be in property and dominion: upon which score, any innovations in the form of government there, should be cautiously examined, for fear of entering upon measures, by which the industry of the inhabitants may be quite discouraged. 'Tis always unfortunate for a people, either by consent, or upon compulsion, to depart from their primitive institutions, and those fundamentals by which they were first united together." *Idem.*

The most effectual way of uniting the colonies, is to make it their common interest to oppose the designs and attempts of Great-Britain.

"All wise states will well consider how to preserve the advantages arising from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive that there can be but two ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependence; one, to keep it out of their power, and the other, out of their will. The first must be by force, and the latter by using them well, and keeping them employed in such productions, and making such manufactures, as will support themselves and families comfortably, and procure them wealth too, and at least not prejudice their mother country.

"Force can never be used effectually to answer the end, without destroying the colonies themselves. Liberty and encouragement are necessary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops, considerable enough to awe them, and keep them in subjection, under the direction too of a needy governor, often sent thither to make his fortune, and at such a distance from any application for redress, will soon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the soldiers

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their love into jealousy; and first taught these provinces, filled with grief and anxiety, to enquire—

Mens ubi materna est?

Where is maternal affection?

LETTER VI.

My dear countrymen,

IT may perhaps be objected against the arguments that have been offered to the public, concerning the legal power of the parliament, "that it has always exercised the power of imposing duties, for the purposes of raising a revenue on the productions of these colonies carried to Great-Britain, which may be called a tax on them." To this objection I answer, that this is no violation of the rights

NOTE.

alone, and if it did not, would eat up all the profit of the colony. For this reason, arbitrary countries have not been equally successful in planting colonies with free ones; and what they have done in that kind, has either been by force, or at a vast expence, or by departing from the nature of their government, and giving such privileges to planters as were denied to their other subjects. And I dare say, that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent conduct, would soon give us far the greater share of the riches of all America, and perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into other colonies for shelter.

"There are so many exigencies in all states, so many foreign wars, and domestic disturbances, that these colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find their interest to do; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it shall never be their interest to act against that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwise be averted, than by keeping them fully employed in such trades as will increase their own, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for them, they may find it for us: the interest of the mother country, is always to keep them dependent, and so employed; and it requires all her address to do it; and it is certainly more easily and effectually done by gentle and insensible methods, than by power alone." Cato's letters.

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of the colonies, it being implied in the relation between them and Great-Britain, that they should not carry such commodities to other nations, as should enable them to interfere with the mother country. The imposition of duties on these commodities, when brought to her, is only a consequence of her parental right; and if the point is thoroughly examined, the duties will be found to be laid on the people of the mother country. Whatever they are, they must proportionally raise the price of the goods, and consequently must be paid by the consumers. In this light they were considered by the parliament in the 25th Charles II. chap. 7, sect. 2, which says, that the productions of the plantations were carried from one to another free from all customs, "while the subjects of this your kingdom of England, have paid great customs and impositions for what of them have been spent here," &c.

Besides, if Great-Britain exports these commodities again, the duties will injure her own trade, so that she cannot hurt us, without plainly and immediately hurting herself; and this is our check against her acting arbitrarily in this respect.

* It may be perhaps further object-

NOTE.

* If any one should observe that no opposition has been made to the legality of the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, which is the first act of parliament that ever imposed duties on the importations to America, for the expressed purpose of raising a revenue there; I answer, first, that though the act expressly mentions the raising a revenue in America, yet it seems that it had as much in view the "improving and securing the trade between the same and Great Britain," which words are part of its title: and the preamble says, "whereas it is expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for improving the revenue of this kingdom, and for extending and securing the navigation and commerce between Great Britain, and your majesty's dominions in America, which by the peace have been so happily extended and enlarged," &c. Secondly, all the duties mentioned in that act, are imposed solely on the pro-

ed "that it being granted that statutes made for regulating trade, are binding upon us, it will be difficult for any person, but the makers of the laws, to determine which of them are made for the regulating of trade, and which for raising a revenue; and that from hence may arise confusion."

To this I answer, that the objection is of no force in the present case, or such as resemble it; because the act now in question, is formed expressly for the sole purpose of raising a revenue.

However, supposing the design of parliament had not been expressed, the objection seems to me of no weight, with regard to the influence which those who may make it, might expect it ought to have on the conduct of these colonies.

It is true, that impositions for raising a revenue, may be hereafter called regulations of trade: but names will not change the nature of things. Indeed we ought firmly to believe, what is an undoubted truth, confirmed by

NOTE.

ductions and manufactures of foreign countries, and not a single duty laid on any production or manufacture of our mother country. Thirdly, the authority of the provincial assemblies is not therein so plainly attacked as by the last act, which makes provision for defraying the charges of the "administration of justice," and "the support of civil government." Fourthly, that it being doubtful, whether the intention of the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, was not as much to regulate trade, as to raise a revenue, the minds of the people here were wholly engrossed by the terror of the stamp act, then impending over them, about the intention of which there could be no doubt. These reasons so far distinguish the 4th Geo. III. chap. 15, from the last act, that it is not to be wondered at, that the first should have been submitted to, though the last should excite the most universal and spirited opposition. For this will be found, on the strictest examination, to be, in the principle on which it is founded, and in the consequences that must attend it, if possible, more destructive than the stamp act. It is, to speak plainly, a prodigy in our laws; not having one British feature.

the unhappy experience of many states heretofore free, that unless the most watchful attention be exerted, a new servitude may be slipped upon us, under the sanction of usual and respectable terms.

Thus the Cæsars ruined the Roman liberty, under the titles of old and venerable dignities, known in the most flourishing times of freedom. In imitation of the same policy, James II. when he meant to establish popery, talked of liberty of conscience, the most sacred of all liberties; and had thereby almost deceived the dissenters into destruction.

All artful rulers, who strive to extend their power beyond its just limits, endeavour to give to their attempts as much semblance of legality as possible. Those who succeed them, may venture to go a little further; for each new encroachment will be strengthened by former. "† That which is now supported by examples, growing old, will become an example itself," and thus support fresh usurpations.

A free people therefore can never be too quick in observing, nor too firm in opposing the beginnings of alteration either in form or reality, respecting institutions formed for their security. The first kind of alteration leads to the last: yet, on the other hand, nothing is more certain, than that the forms of liberty may be retained, when the substance is gone. In government, as well as in religion, "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."

I will beg leave to enforce this remark by a few instances. The crown, by the constitution, has the prerogative of creating peers. The existence of that order, in due number and dignity, is essential to the constitution; and if the crown did not exercise that prerogative, the peerage must have long since decreased so much, as to have lost its proper influence. Suppose a prince, for some unjust purpose, should, from time to time, advance many needy, profligate wretches to that rank, that all the independent of the house of lords should be destroyed; there would then be a man

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† Tacitus.

‡ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

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self violation of the constitution, under the appearance of using legal prerogative.

The house of commons claim the privilege of forming all money bills, and will not suffer either of the other branches of the legislature to add to, or alter them; contending that their power simply extends to an acceptance or rejection of them. This privilege appears to be just: but under pretence of this just privilege, the house of commons has claimed a licence of tacking to money bills, clauses relating to things of a totally different kind, and thus forcing them in a manner on the king and lords. This seems to be an abuse of that privilege, and it may be vastly more abused. Suppose a future house, influenced by some displaced, discontented demagogues—in a time of danger, should tack to a money bill, something so injurious to the king and peers, that they would not assent to it, and yet the commons should obstinately insist on it; the whole kingdom would be exposed to ruin by them, under the appearance of maintaining a valuable privilege.

In these cases, it might be difficult for a while to determine, whether the king intended to exercise his prerogative in a constitutional manner or not; or whether the commons insisted on their demand factiously, or for the public good; but surely the conduct of the crown, or of the house, would in time sufficiently explain itself.

Ought not the people therefore to watch? to observe facts? to search into causes? to investigate designs? and have they not a right of judging from the evidence before them, on no slighter points than their liberty and happiness? it would be less than trifling, wherever a British government is established, to make use of any arguments to prove such a right. It is sufficient to remind the reader of the day*, on the anniversary of which the first of these letters is dated.

I will now apply what has been said to the present question.

The nature of any impositions laid by parliament on these colonies, must determine the design in laying them.

NOTE.

* The day on which William the third landed in England.

It may not be easy in every instance to discover that design. Wherever it is doubtful, I think submission cannot be dangerous; nay, it must be right; for, in my opinion, there is no privilege these colonies claim, which they ought in duty and prudence more earnestly to maintain and defend, than the authority of the British parliament, to regulate the trade of all her dominions. Without this authority, the benefits she enjoys from our commerce, must be lost to her; the blessings we enjoy from our dependence upon her, must be lost to us. Her strength must decay; her glory vanish; and she cannot suffer without our partaking in her misfortune. Let us therefore cherish her interests as our own, and give her every thing, that it becomes freemen to give or to receive.

The nature of any impositions she may lay upon us, may, in general, be known, by considering how far they relate to the preserving, in due order, the connexion between the several parts of the British empire. One thing we may be assured of, which is this—Whenever the imposes duties on commodities, to be paid only upon their exportation from Great-Britain to these colonies, it is not a regulation of trade, but a design to raise a revenue upon us. Other instances may happen, which it may not be necessary at present to dwell on. I hope these colonies will never, to their latest existence, want understanding sufficient to discover the intentions of those who rule over them, nor the resolution necessary for asserting their interests. They will always have the same rights, that all free states have, of judging when their privileges are invaded, and of using all prudent measures for preserving them.

*Quocirca vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversus opponite pectora rebus.*

Wherefore keep up your spirits, and gallantly oppose this adverse course of affairs.

LETTER VII.

My dear countrymen,

THIS letter is intended more particularly for such of you, whose

employments in life may have prevented your attending to the consideration of some points that are of great and public importance: for many such persons there must be even in these colonies, where the inhabitants in general are more intelligent than any other people whatever, as has been remarked by strangers, and, it seems, with reason.

Some of you, perhaps, filled, as I know your breasts are, with loyalty to our most excellent prince, and with love to our dear mother country, may feel yourselves inclined, by the affections of your hearts, to approve every action of those whom you so much venerate and esteem. A prejudice thus flowing from goodness of disposition, is amiable indeed. I wish it could be indulged without danger. Did I think this possible, the error should have been adopted, and not opposed by me. But in truth, all men are subject to the frailties of nature; and therefore whatever regard we entertain for the persons of those who govern us, we should always remember that their conduct, as rulers, may be influenced by human infirmities.

When any laws, injurious to these colonies, are passed, we cannot suppose, that any injury is intended us by his majesty, or the lords. For, the assent of the crown and peers to laws, seems, as far as I am able to judge, to have been vested in them, more for their own security, than for any other purpose. On the other hand, it is the particular business of the people, to enquire and discover what regulations are useful for themselves, and to digest and present them in the form of bills, to the other orders, to have them enacted into laws. Where these laws are to bind themselves, it may be expected, that the house of commons will very carefully consider them: but when they are making laws that are not designed to bind themselves, we cannot imagine that their deliberations will be as cautious and scrupulous, as in their own case.

NOTE.

* Many remarkable instances might be produced, of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning these colonies,

I am told, that there is a wonderful address frequently used in carrying points in the house of commons, by persons experienced in these affairs. Opportunities are watched—and sometimes votes are passed, which, if all the members had been present, would have been rejected by a great majority. Certain it is, that when a powerful

NOTE.

have passed in parliament; which is owing, as it is supposed, to the bill being brought in by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general, in the heat of business, to discover their tendency.

The following instances shew the truth of this remark. When Mr. Grenville, in the violence of resentment, formed the 4th of Geo. III. chap. 13th, for regulating the American trade, the word "Ireland" was dropped in the clause relating to our iron and lumber, so that we could send these articles to no part of Europe, but to Great-Britain. This was to unreasonable restriction, and so contrary to the sentiments of the legislature for many years before, that it was surprising it should not be taken notice of in the house. However the bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this restriction was taken off by a subsequent act. I cannot positively say how long after the taking off this restriction, as I have not the act, but I think, in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word "Ireland" was left out, just as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained, was a second time regulated.

Now, if it be considered, that the omission mentioned struck out with one word so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable; and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity.

"The enumeration was obtained (says Mr. † Gee) by one Cole, a captain of a ship, employed by a company then trading to Carolina: for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, presented

† Gee on trade, page 32.

and artificial measure has always. Perhaps for us, affecting the innate house of violence great m cause.

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and artful man has determined on any measure against these colonies, he has always succeeded in his attempt. Perhaps, therefore, it will be proper for us, whenever any oppressive act affecting us is passed, to attribute it to the inattention of the members of the house of commons, and to the malevolence or ambition of some factious great man, rather than to any other cause.

Now, I do verily believe, that the late act of parliament, imposing duties on paper, &c. was formed by Mr. Grenville, and his party, because it is evidently a part of that plan, by which he endeavoured to render himself popular at home; and I do also believe, that not one half of the members of the house of commons, even of those who heard it read, did perceive how destructive it was to American freedom. For this reason, as it is usual in Great-Britain, to consider the king's speech as the speech of the ministry, it may be right here to consider this act as the act of a party—perhaps I should speak more properly, if I was to use another term.

There are two ways of laying taxes. One is, by imposing a certain sum on particular kinds of property, to be

NOTE.

ed the aforesaid captain of a landing. Upon his coming home, he possessed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament (who was very frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal, was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act, to make it an enumerated commodity; by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation."

I find that this clause, "privately got into an act," for the benefit of captain Cole, to the "vast loss of the nation," is inserted into the 3d and 4th Ann, chap. 5th, intitled, "an act for granting to her majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandises imported," with which it has no more connexion, than with 14th Edward I. the 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. and the 25th of Charles II. which provide, that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representative.

paid by the user or consumer, or by taxing the person at a certain sum. The other is, by imposing a certain sum on particular kinds of property, to be paid by the teller.

When a man pays the first sort of tax, he knows with certainty that he pays so much money for a tax. The consideration for which he pays it, is remote, and, it may be, does not occur to him. He is sensible, too, that he is commanded and obliged to pay it as a tax; and therefore people are apt to be displeased with this sort of tax.

The other sort of tax is submitted to in a very different manner. The purchaser of an article very seldom reflects that the teller raises his price, so as to indemnify himself for the tax he has paid. He knows that the prices of things are constantly fluctuating, and if he thinks about the tax, he thinks at the same time, in all probability, that he might have paid as much, if the article he buys had not been taxed. He gets something visible and agreeable for his money; and tax and price are so confounded together, that they cannot separate, or does not choose to take the trouble of separating them.

This mode of taxation therefore is the mode suited to arbitrary and oppressive governments. The love of liberty is so natural to the human heart, that unfeeling tyrants think themselves obliged to accommodate their schemes as much as they can, to the appearance of justice and reason, and to deceive those whom they resolve to destroy or oppress, by presenting to them a miserable picture of freedom, when the ineluctable original is lost.

This policy did not escape the cruel and rapacious Nero. That monster, apprehensive that his crimes might endanger his authority and life, thought proper to do some popular acts, to secure the obedience of his subjects. Among other things, says Tacitus, "he remitted the twenty fifth part of the price on the sale of slaves, but rather in show than reality; for the teller being ordered to pay it, it became part of the price to the buyer."

This is the reflexion of the judicious historian; but the deluded pro-

NOTE.

• Tacitus's Ann. Book 13, § 13.

ple gave their infamous emperor full credit for his false generosity. Other nations have been treated in the same manner the Romans were. The honest, industrious Germans, who are settled in different parts of this continent, can inform us, that it was this sort of tax that drove them from their native land to our woods, at that time the seats of perfect and undisturbed freedom.

Their princes, inflamed by the lust of power, and the lust of wealth, two vices that the more they are gorged, the more hungry they grow, transgressed the bounds they ought, in regard to themselves, to have observed. To keep up the deception in the minds of subjects, "there must be," says * a very learned author, "some proportion between the impost and the value of the commodity; wherefore there ought not to be an excessive duty upon merchandises of little value. There are countries in which the duty exceeds seventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity. In this case the prince removes the illusion. His subjects plainly see they are dealt with in an unreasonable manner, which renders them most exquisitely sensible of their slavish situation." From hence it appears, that subjects may be ground down into misery by this sort of taxation, as well as by the former. They will be as much impoverished, if their money is taken from them in this way as in the other; and that it will be taken, may be more evident, by attending to a few more considerations.

The merchant, or importer, who pays the duty at first, will not consent to be so much money out of pocket. He therefore proportionably raises the price of his goods. It may then be said to be a contest between him and the person offering to buy, who shall lose the duty. This must be decided by the nature of the commodities, and the purchaser's demand for them. If they are mere luxuries, he is at liberty to do as he pleases, and if he buys, he does it voluntarily: but if they are absolute necessities or conveniences, which use and custom

have made requisite for the comfort of life, and which he is not permitted, by the power imposing the duty, to get elsewhere, there the seller has a plain advantage, and the buyer must pay the duty. In fact, the seller is nothing less than a collector of the tax for the power that imposed it. If these duties then are extended to the necessities and conveniences of life in general, and enormously increased, the people must at length become indeed "most exquisitely sensible of their slavish situation." Their happiness therefore entirely depends on the moderation of those who have authority to impose the duties.

I shall now apply these observations to the late act of parliament. Certain duties are thereby imposed on paper and glass, imported into these colonies. By the laws of Great Britain we are prohibited to get these articles from any other part of the world. We cannot at present, nor for many years to come, though we should apply ourselves to these manufactures with the utmost industry, make enough ourselves for our own use. That paper and glass are not only convenient, but absolutely necessary for us, I imagine very few will deny. Some, perhaps, who think mankind grew wicked and luxurious, as soon as they found out another way of communicating their sentiments than by speech, and another way of dwelling than in caves, may advance so whimsical an opinion. But I presume nobody will take the unnecessary trouble of confuting them.

From these remarks I think it evident, that we must use paper and glass; that what we use must be British; and that we must pay the duties imposed, unless those who sell these articles, are so generous as to make us presents of the duties they pay.

Some persons may think this act of no consequence, because the duties are so small. A fatal error. That is the very circumstance most alarming to me. For I am convinced, that the authors of this law would never have obtained an act to raise so trifling a sum as it must do, had they not intended by it to establish a precedent for future use *. To console ourselves

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* Montesquieu's spirit of laws, book 13, chap. 8.

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* Several years afterwards it was as-

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with the smallness of the duties, is to walk deliberately into the snare that is set for us, praising the neatness of the workmanship. Suppose the duties imposed by the late act, could be paid by these distressed colonies with the utmost ease, and that the purposes to which they are to be applied, were the most reasonable and equitable that can be conceived, the contrary of which I hope to demonstrate before these letters are concluded; yet even in such a supposed case, these colonies ought to regard the act with abhorrence. For who are a free people? Not those, over whom government is reasonably and equitably exercised, but those, who live under a government so constitutionally checked and controlled, that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised.*

The late act is founded on the destruction of this constitutional security. If the parliament have a right to lay a duty of four shillings and eightpence on a hundred weight of glass, or a ream of paper, they have a right to lay a duty of any other sum on either. They may raise the duty, as the author before quoted says has been done in some countries, till it "exceeds seventeen or eighteen times the value of the commodity." In short, if they have a right to levy a tax of one penny upon us, they have a right to levy a million upon us: for where does their right stop? At any given number of pence, shillings, or pounds? To attempt to limit their right, after granting it to exist at all, is as contrary to reason—as granting it to exist at all, is contrary to justice. If they have any right to tax us—then, whether our own money shall continue in our own pockets or not, depends no longer on us, but on them. † "There

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knowledge in the house of commons, that this act was only intended for the establishment of a precedent, that, when submitted to, was to be followed by more productive acts.

* "For a man to be tenant at will of his liberty, I can never agree to it. It is a tenure not to be found in all Littleton." Speech of sir Edward Coke.

"*Etiamsi dominus non sit molestus, tamen miserrimum est, posse, si velit.*—Cicero.

† Lord Camden's speech.

is nothing which" we "can call our own;" or, to use the words of Mr. Locke—"what property have" we "in that, which another may, by right, take, when he pleases, to himself?"

Those duties, that will inevitably be levied upon us—that are now levying upon us—are expressly laid for the sole purpose of taking money. This is the true definition of "taxes." They are therefore taxes. This money is to be taken from us. We are therefore taxed. Those who are taxed without their own consent, expressed by themselves or their representatives, are slaves. We are taxed without our own consent, expressed by ourselves or our representatives. We are therefore—"slaves."

Miserabile vulgus:

A miserable tribe.

NOTE.

* "It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies."—"The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England."—"The distinction between legislation and taxation, is essentially necessary to liberty."—"The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it."—"The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea, that ever entered into the head of man. It does not deserve a serious refutation."—"Mr. Pitt's speech on the stamp act.

That great and excellent man, lord Camden, maintains the same opinion. His speech in the house of peers, on the declaratory bill of the sovereignty of Great Britain over the colonies, has lately appeared in our papers. The following extracts so perfectly agree with, and confirm the sentiments avowed in these letters, that it is hoped the inserting them in this note will be excused.

"As the affair is of the utmost importance, and in its consequences may involve the fate of kingdoms, I took the strictest review of my arguments: I re-examined all my authorities, fully determined, if I found myself mistaken, publicly to own my mistake, and

*Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London—written in the year 1783.
(Continued from page 213.)*

LETTER II.

Dear friend,

THERE are many things in theory which are not capable of practical proof: these, as they contribute little to the benefit of mankind, I rank in the lower class of literature. You doubtless remember, when we were schoolmates, how philosophically our professor would harangue upon the original particles of matter, and the simples of nature. For my part, I find no such simples; what is there that is uncompound? Universal nature is a mixture of contrary ingredients, and to every earthly enjoyment there is a contra-part annexed. These in degree are usually proportionate to

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give up my opinion: but my searches have more and more convinced me, that the British parliament have no right to tax the Americans, "nor is the doctrine new; it is as old as the constitution; it grew up with it; indeed it is its support." "Taxation and representation are inseparably united. God hath joined them: no British parliament can separate them: to endeavour to do it, is to stab our vitals."

"My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable—this position is founded on the laws of nature: it is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own; no man hath a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself, or representative; whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery; he throws down the distinction between liberty and slavery." "There is not a blade of grass, in the most obscure corner of the kingdom, which is not, which was not ever represented, since the constitution began: there is not a blade of grass, which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor." "The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native coun-

each other; and it is often the case, that the greatest contrail of pleasure and pain arises from those objects which lie nearest the heart. How does the mother joy and grieve, yea, as it were, live and die, with the child of her bosom?

When I first perceived the connexion I was forming with America, and how inseparably my affection was united to her interest, I was not insensible, from the nature of things, to what a vicissitude of passions I was fated. The idea at first startled me; but I at length freely submitted to what my love had made irresistible.

In my former letter I took leave of you, as if with Moses upon the mount, borne away with the rising glory of America. I now sit down to lay before you in a more humble style, those threatening symptoms of a political and

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try, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of slavery. They did not give up their rights; they looked for protection, and not for chains, from their mother country. By her they expected to be defended in the possession of their property, and not to be deprived of it: for, should the present power continue, there is nothing which they can call their own: or, to use the words of Mr. Locke, "what property have they in that, which another may, by right, take, when he pleases, to himself?"

It is impossible to read this speech, and Mr. Pitt's, and not be charmed with the generous zeal for the rights of mankind, that glows in every sentence. These great and good men, animated by the subject they speak upon, seem to rise above all the former glorious exertions of their abilities. A foreigner might be tempted to think they are Americans, asserting with all the ardour of patriotism, and all the anxiety of apprehension, the cause of their native land—and not Britons, striving to stop their mistaken countrymen from oppressing others. Their reasoning is not only just—it is, as Mr. Hume says of the eloquence of Demosthenes, "vehement." It is disdain, anger, boldness, freedom, involved in a continual stream of argument.

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moral nature, which pain my heart. In the civil constitution of America, each state, with respect to its own internal police, holds a sovereignty of its own : but, for mutual defence, they are organized into one great body, over which preside their congress, composed of a proportionable number of delegates from each state. In this body was designed to be lodged the supreme authority of the nation, but being invested with their power, at a time when tyranny had rendered the very name of power unpopular, the states fell short of the mark, and, by their restrictions, incapacitated their ruling body, for the discharge of the duty, to which the very nature of their office led them. I am sensible that the ruler has no power, but what is derived to him from the people ; yet the nature of all government requires that he should have so much as to rule for their good, to encourage the virtuous and punish the vicious. Congress, in some things of the greatest importance, have only a right to recommend to their constituent assemblies what they judge interesting to the public weal ; and however urgent the exigencies of the nation may be with regard to these, yet they must pass the litigation of each assembly, before congress are empowered to act ; and, even then, we find it may be the case, that one of the thirteen will negative the whole. When I was first made acquainted with the powers of congress, I was sensible of the defect, and equally sensible that such was the jealousy of the people, in delegating power to their rulers, that nothing but experience could convince them of the mistake. And experience has already begun to do its office, and by the irreparable loss of an immense interest, has administered more conviction to the populace, than volumes on the subject would have done. I mean in the continental impost recommended by congress to the several states. This was an expedient for cancelling the public debt, that discovered great wisdom and sound policy. It would have done honour to the oldest senate on the globe ; for it eases the industrious farmer, and draws the revenue from the opulent ; or at least, being laid upon the superfluities of life, no one pays any part of it but of choice.

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The states soon discovered their interest in this recommendation, and adopted the plan, all except the state of Rhode Island, which has negatived the whole. And there being no authority to remedy the evil, or chastise their stubbornness, the nation has already lost a revenue, I presume of greater value than the state itself. A few more lessons of such a serious nature as this, will be likely to convince the people that it is not for their interest in this manner to restrict the supreme legislature of the nation. Congress must have more than a name or power of recommendation, in order to act for the good of the whole. However, we may perhaps attribute this defect not so much to a want of wisdom as to those inevitable prejudices to which human nature is incident. At the time when America left her parent country, and for ever dissolved that tender relation which had so long subsisted, it was done under the highest provocation ; there was the greatest affront offered to human reason and liberty ; the British ministry, given up to a spirit of insatiation, asserted a right of making laws binding them in all cases whatever.

From this awful spectre they fled ; and in this perturbation of mind, they were driven by the laws of self-preservation to form a constitution of their own. It is not therefore strange, under these circumstances, that a jealousy of power should be so great as to operate to their disadvantage. When with the greatest caution we are endeavouring to shun one extreme, we are almost certain to strike the other. *Incidit in Scyllam, dum vult vitare Charybdim.* Add to this, that the constitution of civil government has, in all ages of the world, been found one of the most delicate subjects, on which human wisdom has ever been employed ; and the prodigal delegation of power has often been attended with the most pernicious consequences. From these considerations I rather think it strange, that the states have not made greater mistakes in their constitution, than what at present appear. This apology for the people, you will readily see, results from the nature of things, rather than from too great a prejudice in their favour. You will not impute it to a want of candour on

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the subject, though I pass over many smaller matters, that are not altogether agreeable: for this would introduce a prolixity not suitable in a letter. Were I to give my opinion with respect to the several legislatures individually, I should judge the members, that compose the greater part of their assemblies, much too numerous: if they were lessened half or more, it would expedite their business with less expense: nor, if done by the voice of the people, could it in the least endanger their liberties. But, not to enlarge here, I shall take the liberty to observe further upon the public œconomy of the states. Perhaps never was a people under better advantage to become great and rich than the Americans, or more circumstances found any where, arising from soil, climate and situation, to render a people independent of the rest of the world. However, from principles of benevolence, I am no enemy to commerce, when regulated by wisdom and sound policy. At present the states appear exceedingly wanting in this œconomy; and much like the young trader, whose object is to fill his store, without thinking that a day of payment will ever come. The advantage or disadvantage of trade, depends on two things, the circumstances of a people, and the manner in which it is conducted. If they are not in possession of commodities to exchange for what they receive from other nations, and of more than what is necessary for their own consumption; trade, in this case, will not only rob them of the supports of life, but plunge them into debt. Poland is a living example in proof of this observation; she is possessed of scarce any trading commodity, except corn, which is one of her capital supports. The lands are chiefly owned by lords, who oppress their tenants, and take from them this staff of life, that by it they may feed their own luxury in trade with other nations. Under these circumstances, it would be happy for the Poles, if they had no trade open with any part of the globe. It is not so with the Americans. They are possessed of a variety of commodities, a considerable proportion of which may be spared in foreign trade; and to exchange them for the manu-

factures and produce of other nations, would be greatly to their advantage. But, in national trade, the exports should be made to answer the imports; otherwise it will for ever drain a people of their cash: this will disturb their internal police, and render almost every member of the community in some degree uncomfortable. There must be public as well as domestic œconomy: nor is it possible for a people, any more than a family, to flourish without it. At present the balance of trade lies exceedingly heavy against the states, and it is daily increasing; the evil already operates; the people complain of the great scarcity of cash, but are generally blind to the cause. In almost every ship bound for Europe, their cash is exported in large quantities, and there exchanged, at least in part, for those toys and superfluities, for which nature has no demand, and which tend to impoverish the buyer as much as to enrich the seller. It would be happy for the states, were their congress constitutionally authorized to levy a duty upon all superfluities, that would either wholly discourage the trade, or, if continued, serve to lighten their public burden. It is indeed strange that the sensibility of the states has discovered no more jealousy of this bait when laid by an enemy; for the British nation are no more friends to America now, than when the sword was unsheathed. All their pacific pretensions are but the product of necessity; their sword failed of conquest, and they are now trying the art of trade; and will you call it a groundless fear, should I say, that there may be more danger from this quarter, than from their arms? I mean not to insinuate by this, that I am under fearful apprehensions, lest they may again obtain the jurisdiction of the states; but by plunging them deep into debt, bankruptcy will become frequent in the mercantile part of the community; and in every such instance, the public is more or less injured, not only as it robs them of their cash, but as it will give Great Britain a foothold in their landed property. For when the commodities and cash of the state fail, this must secure the creditor; on this is grounded the above observation, that there may be more danger from British trade than

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British arms : for by the latter they conquered no part of America, but by the former they may acquire much. It is easier for us to injure another under the disguise of friendship, than when there is no such artifice made use of to hide the intent. Hence the wise precaution of the Trojan priest against receiving the Grecian horse within the walls : *Timco Danaos et dona ferentes*. Trade naturally carries with it the pretext of friendship, though, like the abovementioned horse, it may be charged with death. Great Britain is crowding in her goods of every kind upon the states ; and the people, blind to the fraud, appear equally zealous in purchasing. It would be greatly for their interest, would they look forward to the approaching evil that must hence result, depending more on their own manufactures, and purchasing nothing but what necessity demands.

The interest of a people has a greater concern in their mode of living, than we are apt to imagine ; when this is conformed to, and governed by their circumstances, it is happy ; and no less pernicious, when suffered to run at large without any such rule. When a private person, or family, live beyond their circumstances, ruin will inevitably follow ; and the observation is equally true with respect to the public. America lives too fast for a people so young, who have so lately passed their minority, and whose opportunities of acquiring wealth have as yet, been so small. It discovers a bad taste and great vanity, to think at present of imitating older nations in their superfluities and grandeur. Every thing of this nature should be despised, till their public debt, the price of their redemption, is fully discharged. The commonalty take the higher rank of people for the standard of fashion ; and, governed by a false taste, they carry their imitation to the great detriment of their private as well as public interest. Hence the plough-boy is ruffled ; and the kitchen maid, in her head-dress, rivals the lady of fortune ; and hence it is that Great Britain finds such a market in America for those gaudy and nonsensical superfluities, which are a moil to the world. Did this rank of people conceive the influence which their exam-

ple has on the public welfare, I am sure, if friends to their country, they would study the greatest simplicity and frugality of life. I readily confess, the idea I had formed of America, in this respect, was imaginary. When I left my native country, I indulged the pleasurable thought of leaving all the follies and fopperies of fashion behind me ; I fancied the American taste too noble and philosophic to be endangered by any thing in its nature so perfectly empty ; but, to my grief, I find that these have followed, or rather come before me into the country, where I expect to spend the residue of my life. I am now travelling through the state of Connecticut on my way eastward : a few evenings past I took up my lodging at a plantation about twenty miles from one of their market towns. I was told the town had lately been incorporated with city privileges. My landlord I found in ill humour, expressing not a little discontent, with regard to the difficulty of the times ; it is natural for me when troubles of any kind appear, to examine into the cause ; in this instance, an indirect method of coming at the matter seemed the most adviseable. I therefore observed to him, that the country had obtained the object of their conflict ; their army was now disbanded, in consequence of which, their public taxes were much lightened : besides, his farm appeared exceedingly good and well managed ; and under these circumstances we might rationally suspect that his complaints were groundless. The good man replied, that, in the most distressing season of the war, when he had a soldier to hire and equip for service, and when public taxes were the heaviest, he could with much more ease and punctuality discharge his obligations than now. The pork, beef and grain raised on his farm, and carried to market, had annually discharged his public taxes ; he observed that few European manufactures were then in the country, and scarce any of the superfluous kind : they were hence necessitated to industry within doors, and obliged to follow the strictest rules of domestic economy. They manufactured their own apparel, both for male and female with very little exception ; and it was then decent and reputable in any com-

pany; but would now scarcely answer for a common dress. My landlord was particular in relating to me the time and circumstances, that first introduced his troubles; he had a large family of sons and daughters, two of whom, not long after the declaration of peace, made a visit to the city; they discovered pleasure and satisfaction when they went from home, but returned with a very different countenance. The affectionate father immediately enquiring into the cause, found it to be this; the son had met with an acquaintance of his in the city, who was dressed in a very genteel suit of broad cloth and silk; the daughter saw a lady walking the street with a new fashioned hat, ornamented with some remarkable tassels, and one of the most beautiful feathers she ever saw. They found the store where they were to be sold, enquired the price, which they said was exceedingly low. The good man replied to his son, that his dress was such as they could afford, it was neat, plain and manly; and that his character, either as a man of sense, or wholesome member of society, would never suffer from that quarter. And turning to his daughter, he observed, that they had a great variety of poultry on the farm, among which there was a rich diversity of colours, and she might pluck a feather from which she pleased, would she only be content. But arguments availed little; the discontent disturbed the tranquility of the house, till the articles were purchased; these, brought into the family, had the like effect upon the other children. The dissatisfaction which the partial hand of a parent creates, began to discover itself in a very serious manner. The old gentleman now seemed driven by necessity to go the round in the trade he had begun, and observed, it had ever since been little short of a continued round of fashions, introduced by the new city on which they bordered. The support of fashion he found to be the heaviest tax that he ever paid; the produce of his farm had always cleared him of the others; but in this it failed. The incomes and charges of his family he found utterly disproportioned, and the balance against him daily increasing. He told me that if this loss of interest had been supplied with an in-

crease of family happiness, the exchange would give him no trouble; but the reverse of this was in truth the case; domestic happiness had forsaken him; contentment, the near companion of simplicity and frugality, was no more. His family was like a vessel in a troubled sea, tossed from fashion to fashion, ever reaching after new, and satisfied with none. He lamented this great and sudden corruption of taste; the difficulty of stemming the torrent; and that the interest he had acquired by hard industry, should in this manner be walled by prodigality.

I conceive it natural for us to pity most, when least able to lend assistance; I am sure it was so with me; I more sensibly felt for the man, because I knew it was out of my power to give relief. And in this painful exercise of mind, I parted from my unfortunate friend. However, the instruction I received was a liberal reward for the sympathetic pain I endured in the conference. In this family I had a striking picture of the community at large; for there is such a likeness between the nature of a family and the body politic, that the same œconomy that is requisite for the prosperity of the one, is equally necessary for the other. And the same corruption of taste, when it is generally diffused through a community, will operate as much to their disadvantage, as it will to the disadvantage of a family or individual.

I am sensible that the popular remark on subjects of this nature is discouraging; "you may as well stop the course of nature as of fashion, it must and will have its career." I feel the difficulty—however, view it not in such a desperate point of light. Public evil, I acknowledge, is not a promising motive to urge for private reformation; but convince a person where his own interest lies, and he will generally attend; or under personal troubles, point him to a remedy, and he will usually pursue it.

No one can deny that the interest of every individual depends on his own private œconomy, and that it is all that is requisite to remove the public evil above-mentioned. Let that œconomy be generally practised, on which private interest and domestic

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happiness are founded, and the public good will doubtless follow. And this idea, if just, certainly affords a very natural and powerful motive of reformation: for here the same thing that is the cause of private and domestic happiness, is a remedy to the public evil. I am sure every person of sensibility, may easily trace the troubles which at present threaten the States, to this origin, the want of domestic economy. The Americans, too much like the rest of the world, live at random: their private and family affairs are conducted without method. And this renders it a matter of entire chance, whether they increase or sink their interest: and should an interest be gotten in this way, it merits no honour, and if lost, it deserves no pity. Every member of the community should reduce his affairs as near as possible to a system, like the well bred merchant, methodise, all his domestic business, compute the necessary expence of his family, bring into the charge the whole of his public taxes, and annually plan and execute his business accordingly; and in the close of the year, if the balance is in his favour, it is his own; he may purchase with it what he pleases, without injuring the public, or disturbing the tranquility of his family. All this may be done without metaphysical or mathematical skill; the most illiterate who have no knowledge in figures, may adjust the matter with a sufficient degree of accuracy. I have not the vanity, however, to suppose, that this method would provide against inevitable accidents, and those unforeseen occurrences to which human life is exposed; but of this I am certain, it would save men from a thousand evils, into which they now incautiously fall. Bankruptcy would be less frequent, and the prison, compared with what it is now, would be a lonely habitation. Indeed nothing would so much contribute to the happiness of domestic life, or so effectually heal the disorder which is now preying upon the political life of the States. I have long thought it a matter of wonder, that the *economy* of human life, a science in which public and private happiness is so nearly concerned, is no more studied. Without this, men go but blunder through the world; their passage is

neither direct nor regular; by this defect they sacrifice much of their worldly comfort—often violate the sacred laws of justice, and never become such wholesome members of society as they might otherwise be. But my letter has already pass the limits I at first prescribed; had I not remembered that the great law of our friendship was an unreserved friendship, I should not have ventured to express myself so fully, to one whose skill in the subject so far exceeds my own; but you will pardon the defects, and once more indulge me in the honour to subscribe myself,

your friend

and humble servant, &c. &c.

(To be continued.)

On the culture of hops.

I With the public attention could be drawn to the article of hops—the most wholesome ingredient in the wholesomest drink in the world, and the best adapted to the situation of America. Before the revolution, common hops were sold here at 6d. 1-2 to 7d. per lb. or 3d. sterling. They are now worth double that price, and it is said that a sufficiency for the demand cannot be procured. The southern States might turn some part of their attention to the cultivation of so important an article, and at 4d. to 5d. sterling, below which they are never likely to fall, they must be very profitable to them. They are admissible, free of duty, in the British ports, and merchantable hops are worth there 9d. sterling per lb. The superior quality, called Barnham pickets, are sold at five guineas per 112 lbs. Should the price of good hops, in the American markets, be reduced to 4d. or 5d. sterling per lb. why may they not, after supplying our own breweries, be packed and pressed in hogheads, like tobacco, and shipped to England for sale? 'Tis said the American hop is stronger than the British; this the brewers can best determine. Indigo, raised in the southern States, being greatly interfered with, by the importations from India to Europe, tobacco, hemp, cotton, and hops may come in aid of the planters in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Y. 2.

SELECT POETRY.

To the memory of general Greene.

GREENE, o'er thy shrine I drop the grateful tear,
While retrospection pains thy actions near;
Whilst grief spontaneous bids thy country-mourn,
And wreath the just laurels round thy sacred urn.
Not to rehearse thy acts I raise my song,
(To abler pens th' extensive theme belong !)
But be it mine, to say, with modest care,
Thy worth was genuine, and thy heart sincere ;
To say, thy banners wav'd with gen'rous zeal,
And all thy views were aim'd for public weal.
Brave chief distinguish'd, eminently great,
In arms conspicuous, as in arts complete,
Thine is the heart felt sigh, the pang is thine ;
To weep thy loss, 'tis ever, ever mine.
Praise is the tribute greatly due thy name,
And distant ages shall record thy fame.
" Till liberty and freedom cease to glow,
" With kindred fire to animate below ;
" Till virtue's lost 'midst lux'ry's venal rays,
" And acts of merit claim no more our praise ;
" Till vice triumphant reigns superior lord,
" And patriot zeal shall cease to be ador'd ;"
Shall thy renown burn with increasing rays,
And beam resurgent in meridian blaze ;
Shine more conspicuous with revolving time,
And truth transmit those acts which speak them thine ;
Thy worth in elevated strains be sung,
And freedom's guardian live on ev'ry tongue.
To thee, great chief, to thee be honors paid,
And acclamations waft thy glorious shade
To realms of bliss. Ye social spirits, haste,
Convey the hero thro' th' aerial waste ;
Convey his soul where peace for ever reigns,
Whilst earth's sad sons depose his great remains ;
With sacred care transplant your noble guest
To heav'n's expansion, and eternal rest ;
There bliss celestial shall his toils repay
With tranquil joys, 'midst everlasting day.
" 'Tis there that merit meets that honour due,
" And there's the laurel, Greene, reserv'd for you."

XANTHUS.

Savannah, July 18, 1786.



The deserted farm-house—by mr. Freneau.

THIS antique dome, th' unmould'ring tooth of
time,
Now level with the dust has almost laid ;
Yet, ere 'tis gone, I trace my humble rhyme
From the low ruins that his years have made.

Behold th' unfocial hearth !—where once the fires
Blaz'd high, while yonder wand'ring current froze ;
See the weak roof, that abler props requires,
Admits the chilling winds, and swift descending
snows.

Here, to forget the labours of the day,
No more the swains at ev'ning hours repair;
But wand'ring flocks assume the well-known way
To shun the rigours of th' inclement air.

In yonder chamber, half to ruin gone,
Once stood the ancient housewife's curtain'd bed—
Timely the prudent matron has withdrawn,
And each domestic comfort with her fled.

The trees, the flow'rs, that her own hands had rear'd,
The plants, the vines, that were so verdant seen;
The trees, the flow'rs, the vines have disappear'd,
And ev'ry plant has vanish'd from the green!

So sits in tears, on wide Campania's plain,
The ancient mistress of a world enslav'd,
That triumph'd o'er the land, subdu'd the main,
And time himself, in her wild transports, brav'd.

So sits in tears, on Palestina's shore,
The Hebrew town, of splendor once divine;
Her kings, her lords, her triumphs are no more—
Slain are her priests, and ruin'd ev'ry shrine!

Once in the bounds of this half ruin'd room
Perhaps, some swain nocturnal courtship made;
Perhaps, some Sherlock mas'd amidst the gloom,
Since love and death for ever seek the shade!

Perhaps, some miser, doom'd to discontent,
Here counted o'er the heaps acquir'd with pain;
He to the dull—his gold on traffic sent,
Shall ne'er disgrace these mould'ring walls again.

Nor shall the glow-worm fopling, sunshine-bred,
Seek at the ev'ning hour this wonted dome—
Time has reduc'd the fabric to a shed.
Scarce fit to be the wand'ring beggar's home.

And none but I its piteous fate lament—
None, none, but I, o'er its sad ashes mourn.
Sent by the muse (the time, perhaps, mis-spent)
To shed her latest tears upon its silent urn!

WINTER.

—“Sore pinch'd by winter winds,
“How many sink into the sordid hut
“Of cheerless poverty!”—

BLEAK, o'er the plain, the winds tremendous
 blow,
Of purest white the fleecy show'r descends;
The tyrant frost forbids the stream to flow,
And all its horrors rig'rous winter spends.

The howling wolf his hunger loud proclaims,
From far is heard the savage panther's cry;
The rav'nous bear growls o'er the dreary plains:—
To sate their fury num'rous victims die.

The keenest hunter dares not take the field :
 To man the forests are impervious grown,
 Save where the Indian bids the climate yield,
 And makes the pathless, dreary wilds his own.

Now ye, who fortune's various gifts enjoy,
 Who bask in sunshine of her warmest rays :
 Ye whom nor tempest, cold, nor want annoy,
 Whose days glide on in affluence and ease ;

Think on the poor, the destitute, forlorn—
 Extend your bounty to the wretch distress'd ;
 Pluck from the tortur'd breast the rank'ring thorn,
 By misery pointed, and by care impress'd.

Let not your hearts, by gaiety misled,
 Be render'd callous to the tale of woe ;
 But clothe the naked, give the hungry bread,
 Forbid the tears of wretchedness to flow.

For oh ! the rigours of the year require
 Some soft'ning hand, the ling'ring wretch to save :
 Leave for a while your mirth, your social fire,
 To rescue full'ring mortals from the grave.

For know your fortune is the gift of heav'n,
 But not by heav'n for you alone design'd :
 In trust for gen'rous purposes 'twas giv'n,
 And proves a blessing to a gen'rous mind.

Prove yourselves worthy of the sacred trust :
 From dire oppression rescue the oppress'd ;
 Relieve your fellow creatures, 'tis but just,
 And you in blessing will be ever blest.



*Prologue, written by a gentleman of New York, and
 spoken at opening the theatre, November, 1785.*

OF all the rare inventions of mankind,
 Of pow'r to raise, and meliorate the mind,
 Genius, perhaps, no greater can impart,
 Than the blest products of dramatic art ;
 E'er since the time old Thespis trod the stage,
 The buskin'd muse has charin'd in ev'ry age ;
 Has taught the heart to feel for others' woe,
 And gen'rous tears in plenteous streams to flow ;
 Oft in the patriot breast has rous'd the flame
 That urg'd to deeds of everlasting fame,
 Made bold oppression hide its hateful head,
 And planted law and order in its stead :
 Shewn how from vice each fatal error springs,
 And the pure joys substantial virtue brings.
 —The passions here in all their forms appear,
 Loud, stormy rage, soft grief, and wild despair.
 Each tender breast their various influence feels,
 Now melts with pity—now with horror chills,
 When fell Macbeth performs the murder'd deed,
 What heart so hard that is not seen to bleed ?
 Who views old Lear with ev'ry woe oppress'd,
 And feels not strong emotions in his breast ?

Or who the sad Monimia's tale can hear,
And fail to drop the sympathetic tear ?
Sometimes the comic muse gay scenes prepares,
With kind intent, to soften human cares ;
From real life, each striking portrait draws,
To scourge the foes of virtue's sacred laws ;
With lively wit inculcates moral rules,
And points her satire at the herd of fools.

Blest, ever blest be the poetic art,
That tends to mend and humanize the heart ;
Enlists the passions in the cause of truth,
Withdraws from paths of vice our wand'ring youth ;
Protects religion, and supports the laws,
And fires the soul in heav'n-born freedom's cause.



*Speech of an Indian chief, on the injustice of the first
settlers of America, in depriving the natives of their
lands.*

ASSEMBLED, ye Sanops, no more with delight,
To follow the deer in his sporting or flight,
To range the wide forest, for visit or game,
And with the keen arrow emblazon your fame—
Methinks on your brows discontent I behold,
And grief, like yon mountain, its furrows unfold—
While bathing its tresses with crystal supplies,
Its current resembles the gush from your eyes.
Suspend for a moment the plentiful tear,
And feather with patience your burdensome care :
Believe me, we're made by the Parent above,
And plac'd on this spot by his wisdom and love—
Where thro' his indulgence our fathers once found
An ample supply from the meadow and mound.
Unskill'd in the arts of far regions they stood—
And drew from the rivers and forests their food ;
No fraud or injustice, by science refin'd,
Invaded their wishes, or sullied their mind.
O'er their native possessions content spread her wing,
And sleep on their labours threw safety's soft spring ;
Their title by him who made Indians, was giv'n,
And register'd fair in the volume of heav'n.
How alter'd, alas ! is the scene of our day,
To the rovers of violence fallen a prey—
With our squaws and papoos we're obliged to roam,
And steal us in dreary recesses a home.
Of islands and shores where with bows we once stood,
And arrested the flight of the air-ranging brood,
We are ravish'd, exil'd from, and torn by a crew,
Whom our fires never injur'd, affronted or knew :
Yet these from their climes for religion (we're told)
To murder and rob us most piously roll'd.
Religion ! O strange ! that could thirst for our blood,
And seize on our rights, held of nature and God.
That spirit, my friends, who encircles us all,
And limits our rising, our standing and fall—
Who, calm as an ev'ning that summer imparts,
Long waiting if justice would visit their hearts,
Now sweeps like a tempest, avenging our cause,
And grinds them with trouble's unmerciful jaws.

By pride and ambition tormented and torn,
 Despis'd of themselves, of all nations the scorn.

To poverty, tumult and stratagem giv'n,
 Their councils, perplexity's whirlwind hath driv'n.
 And seated in ruin, where revenge from us sent,
 Could not wish to exceed its horrific extent.

How happy were we, in our desarts and wilds,
 Who, free from grim Hunda's* invasions and spoils,
 Enjoy'd from their womb the unblemished spring,
 And food unexcis'd, from the hoof or the wing :
 No halters, nor prisons, among us were bred,
 No lawyers, nor pensioners, by us were fed,
 No thorn of contention our tribes as we pass
 Opposed to concord, veil'd freedom's bright face—
 Our lakes and their margins smil'd fresh on the day,
 Unobliged to fasten the vultures of prey.



*On the present prospects of America.—Inscribed to the
 hon. Francis Hopkinson, esq.*

MUSE, strike the lyre—behold the pillars rise,
 And lift Columbia's fabric to the skies :
 Wide and more wide, the brilliant dome extends,
 Its base more permanent, more fix'd its friends :
 The happy people, safe beneath its shade,
 With shouts of joy the edifice pervade,
 The bells with cheerful peals their homage pay,
 And long processions decorate the way ;
 And shall the muses see, unmov'd, the scene,
 Nor yield their chap'lets of perpetual green ?
 Shall they alone of all the hosts of fame,
 Withhold the palm our sages justly claim ?
 Honour forbids—and mid the waste of time,
 Protects from ruin that auspicious rhyme,
 Which sang the roof, as yet to song unknown,
 And mingled all its praises with his own.
 On that gay bosom, still oh muses smile,
 Whose nervous verse adorn'd the stately pile,
 Still as it rises, let his incense rise,
 And let him taste of joy that never dies !

Thou guardian genius of this fertile land,
 Who shall hereafter e'er thy pow'r withstand ?
 What art attempt thy union to divide,
 In which at once consist thy strength and pride ?
 Who dare invade thy wide-extended shore,
 Where anarchy and fraud are known no more ?
 What force shall check thy all-advent'rous sails,
 To court, in distant seas, propitious gales ?
 What adamantine charm thy woods detain,
 Whose branches murmur, till they reach the main ?
 By commerce wafied, or for war unfurl'd,
 How bright shall shine thy ensign through the world ?
 Who can foresee the triumphs of that day,
 Whose early dawn emits so fair a ray ?

NOTE.

* Indian name for the devil,

What eye can grasp thy all subduing course,
Whose youth is manhood, and whose weakness force ?

Illustrious statesmen ! ye whose gen'rous souls,
No party view, no private aim controuls,
Whose steadfast zeal no other object knows,
But such as from the gen'ral welfare flows ;
How great the glory you have justly gain'd !
What noble heights your wisdom has attain'd !
Yet more remains—'tis not enough to draw,
In pleasing theory the forms of law,
Tho' this your name for ever shall enfold ;
In laurel wreathes and characters of gold ;
Yet more the praise—if, by experience wise,
He most shall love your code, who longest tries ;
If future times, from institutes you plann'd,
Behold the virtues flourish in the land,
And truth and justice, liberty and peace,
Secur'd for ever, in a just increase ;
Then shall your names, esteem'd almost divine,
Though ev'ry age in hist'ry's annals shine ;
And thou, oh muse, still mindful of thy trust,
In songs immortal, shalt embalm the just,
And mid the archives of perpetual fame,
Shall place for ever each deserving name !



Song—By the honourable Francis Hopkinson, esquire.

SEE down Maria's blushing cheek
The tears of soft compassion flow ;
These tears a yielding heart bespeak—
A heart that feels for others' woe.
May not those drops, that frequent fall,
To my fond hope propitious prove ?
The heart that melts at pity's call
Will own the foster voice of love.

Earth ne'er produc'd a gem so rare,
Nor wealthy ocean's ample space
So rich a pearl—as that bright tear
That lingers on Maria's face.
So hangs upon the morning rose
The chrysal drop of heav'n refin'd ;
A while with trembling lustre glow—
Is gone—and leaves no stain behind.

Foreign Intelligence.

—●●●●—
London October 1, 1788.

THE settling of the civil list of France to a particular sum, is a great object of M. Neckar's. Hitherto, it has been indefinite, and the sums of money which have been classed in this arrangement, have considerably added to the national debt. The article of expense in the queen's wardrobe is immense—it being her majesty's custom, however valuable her clothes, never to wear a suit a second time.

The behaviour of the Turks at Choczim may be rated as a prodigy in military history. The garrison thereof, being only six thousand men, have baffled all the efforts of the Russians ever since the beginning of the war, and we are informed by good authority, that when the last letters came out of the place, which was on the 1st inst. the Turkish commandant declared—"that bad as their provisions were, they had enough for forty-five days longer, and would then, if not relieved by their countrymen, measure swords once more with the joint army of their assailants."

Oct. 6. According to letters from Constantinople, the treaties of peace and commerce between the Ottoman porte and the Swedish nation are revived for fourteen years; in which his sublime highness, the sultan, also stipulates for the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. for the same period of time. The subjects of the king of Sweden are in consequence thereof to enjoy the same protection, privileges, and immunities as the most favoured nation in the dominions of the porte. The guarantee treaties of 1740 add 1772, are also revived; and by the additional articles made in the new treaty, the Turks and Swedes are mutual guarantees to each other for their respective dominions in Europe against every power whatever. The Swedish ambassador, who has had the negotiation of this treaty, is presented with some valuable presents; and twenty purfes of gold have been distributed to his household.

It is now asserted without reserve in

Paris, that the principal reason which induced the king to retain the archbishop in his ministry, was the expectation that his personal influence would prevail on the body of the clergy to accede to the king's pecuniary demands. To effect their compliance in this particular, on coming into office, he wrote circular letters to all the bishops, which were calculated to allure some, and intimidate others. The following is a just translation of the answer he received from one in Upper Languedoc. It is handed about in the polite circles, and greatly admired:—

"A bishop who discharges his duty, who loves residence, and is void of court ambition, dreads none of those things you mention. If I consider you as the prime minister, I owe you nothing—as a bishop, I am your senior—and as a christian, I am accountable to none, but God. It is his tribunal alone, I daily endeavour to render propitious.—You and I must soon appear before it. Let us mutually beware; we may neither of us find as much favour there as here, before men. I serve God and the king. I fear, you prefer the will of your sovereign on earth to your heavenly intercessor; I never will.—Adieu."

The Neapolitans, like all around them, are brushing up their arms, and getting what little strength they have, ready for action. The new artillery, 300 guns of different bore, they buy of Sweden.

Oct. 7. The emperor of Morocco having for some time past discovered the most hostile dispositions against England, and at the same time making every warlike preparation, commodore Cosby, who commands on the Gibraltar station, thought it necessary to be very explicit on behalf of his country; and therefore he demanded to know the emperor's object, asserting, also, that if his armed boats presumed to appear in fleets on the sea, and act hostilely against the subjects of Britain, he should immediately order a ship of the line, with some frigates, to attend and destroy them. The emperor, on receiving this notice, dispatched an ambassador to commodore Cosby assuring him that he entertained the most cordial friendship and good will towards his master; nevertheless, if George was determined to go to

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war, he wished to have four months' notice, which he would also give on similar resolutions, and then "would fight with him, as well as he could;" vowing, however, by his holy prophet, and every obligation which he held dear, that his only object in fitting his numerous fleets, was to send them out to try "if they could not steal something for him;"—and here the matter rests at present. But the policy of this country does not choose to trust implicitly to those trifling professions; and therefore the commander in the Mediterranean has received orders to keep a strict watch over all his motions; and he will receive a supply immediately of two hundred barrels of gunpowder, which are ordered to be dispatched to Gibraltar with all possible expedition.

From the *Hamburg Gazette*, arrived yesterday, by an article dated the 9th of August, we learn, that in consequence of what had transpired of the deliberations of the council held at Copenhagen on the 1st, and their decision to afford Russia the succours demanded by virtue of the treaty subsisting between the two nations, the Swedish ambassador applied to the Danish minister on the subject, and declared, on the part of his master, 'that the king of Sweden did not think he should have to consider the Danes as an enemy.' The Danish court immediately dispatched a confidential messenger to the king of Sweden at Helsingfors, demanding a categorical answer, whether his Swedish majesty would consider the court of Copenhagen's agreeing to furnish Russia with the succours stipulated by the subsisting treaty, as tantamount to a declaration of war on the part of Denmark against Sweden. The courier was expected to return on the 21st of the last month.

The minister's plan for liquidating the national debt, has already produced an income of 100,000*l.* per annum, which arises from the interest of nearly three millions of three per cent's, that are already purchased.

One factor's house in Dublin, in the linen trade, has stopped for 40,000*l.* On investigation it appears, that the sums they are actually under acceptance for, are not less than 30,000*l.*

The emperor has gone suddenly to Mehadia, which place was expecting every hour an attack from the Turks. It is believed that the Turks from Jassy have totally defeated general Spleny, near Surojetic, and afterwards marching to Choczim, have beat the combined army under the prince of Saxe Cobourg and de Solnikow, whose scattered troops the Turks pursued quite to the Polish territories; and that the garrison of Choczim had made a vigorous sally, in which they had destroyed the batteries newly raised by the besiegers, for the purpose of making a breach.—It is certain, however, the Turks are still masters of Jassy, and that general Romanzow, whose present position God only knows, has made no attempt to dislodge them.—It is equally certain Choczim is not yet taken; and as the very extraordinary Vienna gazettes of the 20th and 23d of August (the last in England) do not mention that place, there is every reason to suppose that the intelligence in our private letters is not only founded on fact, but that matters are worse than they durst intrust the account of by the post, as the emperor has prohibited all private writing on these affairs.

Oct. 8. All our advisers from Germany, both public and private, agree in this, that the Turks never discovered so much activity and courage as in the present war. Their exertions are in fact hardly credible, as they consider their all to be at stake, and are accordingly perfectly unanimous amongst themselves.

Mr. Thomas Barclay, the American consul-general in France, after concluding a treaty with the emperor of Morocco, visited others of the Barbary states, and has lately concluded a treaty of peace and commerce for fifty years with the dey of Algiers.

Oct. 9. That celebrated Irish priest, the rev. Arthur O'Leary, whose patriotic writings are held in such estimation by the people of Ireland, is now here, with some plan for the better regulation of the lower orders of society, which is said to have received the very warm approbation of the marquis of Buckingham.

American Intelligence.

Boston, November 22.

Samuel Beck, esquire, one of the members of the honourable house of representatives for this town, appeared yesterday in his seat with a complete suit of American manufactured broadcloth, of an elegant fashionable colour. An example worthy of imitation.

The honourable judge Fuller also lately appeared in the hon. house, in a suit of clothes, the entire manufacture of this country, and the produce of his own farm and family. Independent of the patriotism of the example, the suit looked as well, as if made of foreign superfine broadcloth. His excellency mr. Bowdoin has, we are told, a suit of the same cloth—as has also, mr. Bowdoin, member from Dorchester.

Charleston, (S. C.) Nov. 7.

Commodore Gillon observed, on the last day of the sitting of the house of representatives, that the emission of the paper medium, although extremely beneficial, was found by experience to be too small in quantity: and therefore, if he had the honour of a seat in that house at the next election, he should move for an additional emission.

Philadelphia, November 5.

It is with singular pleasure we inform our readers, that the vestries of the protestant episcopal churches, in this city, have agreed to establish free schools for the instruction of poor children of both sexes, in their respective congregations, in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of the christian religion. The girls will be taught, besides the above branches of knowledge, such of the domestic arts as will render them afterwards more useful members of families and of society. The schools will be under the direction of the trustees of the protestant episcopal academy; one of the rooms of which is to be appropriated for the reception of the boys of the free schools. The funds for the support of these institutions, are to be derived from an annual contribution of 7/6 from each subscriber, and from annual charity ser-

mons to be preached in each of the churches. When we consider how much the late distresses of our country have increased the number of poor children in this city, and how deficient many of the parents of such children are, in instructing them in useful knowledge, we cannot help rejoicing in the prospect of an establishment, which shall break the entail of ignorance and vice in some, or continue the descent of virtue and knowledge in other families, by placing their children in a situation to become virtuous and useful members of the community, and to be happy hereafter. It is to be hoped that those religious societies, which have not yet adopted any plan for educating their poor children, will imitate the examples of those societies which have established free schools in our city. It is in this way only, that religious instruction can be communicated, with human learning, without the risk of exciting religious controversy: and when all the different denominations of christians establish schools for their poor, all the poor children of the city will be properly instructed.

Nov. 7. Yesterday being the day appointed by the protestant episcopal church, as the annual thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, divine service was performed, and sermons were preached in all the episcopal churches in this city. His excellency Thomas Mifflin, esq. president of this state, and the members of the executive council and assembly, attended public worship in Christ's church, where a well adapted discourse was delivered by the rev. dr. Blackwell.

Nov. 29. At a quarterly meeting of the society for the manumission of slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, held at the coffee-house in New York, on Thursday evening the 20th instant, it was resolved unanimously, that the members of the said society will not encourage any vendue-master who shall sell any slave or slaves at public sale thereafter; but will give their business only to such as shall uniformly refrain from a practice so disgraceful and so shocking to humanity.

A letter from Georgia, dated the 22d September, says, "we are at present in a state of anxiety and suspense, be-

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cause of the uncertainty of the termination of the treaty which is now about to be held. The Indians, (Creeks) we are informed, are extremely obstinate, and will insist hard to hold the land that was once ceded to us by a part of the nation; and the commissioners will, I suppose, make a demand of another cession of land, as a compensation for the injury we have sustained by the incursions they have made this last year.

"A gentleman of my acquaintance, from Augusta, who was at my house a few days past, informed me, that official letters had arrived from congress to the executive, instructing them to offer such terms as they think proper; and if the Indians would not accede to them, that they would furnish them with two thousand eight hundred men, pay them, and find them clothing, arms and ammunition. If this can be depended on, which I believe it may, there is a great probability that a war will take place, which we should be well able to support, for there never were greater crops in any country, than have been made in Georgia this season. It is supposed corn will sell at one shilling per bushel, and we have large flocks of cattle; but still it would, in some measure, injure this country, for the present; but the large quantity of good land we should obtain, would more than compensate for the fatigue and expense of the war."

A letter from New-York, dated September 24, says, "A farmer here who sowed one bushel of the white-bearded wheat last fall, has now reaped and threshed it, and it yields fifty-three bushels, thirteen quarts and a half; this he sold to people about the country for seed, at the rate of ten shillings per bushel. It was sowed on an acre and one-eighth of land."

Our city markets are on a medium lower at this early part of the season than they were from 1770 to 1775—and the provisions, both animal and vegetable, are of a much superior quality, from the improvements in husbandry introduced since the peace.

MARRIAGES.

MASSACHUSETTS.—*At Boston*, Mr. P. J. G. De Nancrede, to Miss Hannah Dixcey; Mr. Simon Hall, to Miss Hall.

NEW-JERSEY.—*At New-Brunswick*, Daniel Cooper, Esq. of Long-Hill, Morris-county, aged 92, to Mrs. Gibb, relict of Richard Gibb, Esq. aged 79; Mr. Thomas Mackaness to Miss Jane Durham.

PENNSYLVANIA.—*In Philadelphia*, at the Friends' Meeting-house, Market-street, Mr. Samuel Fox, to Miss Sarah Pleasants.

VIRGINIA.—*At Richmond*, Thomas Lee, Esq. eldest son of Richard Henry Lee, Esq. to Miss Mildred Washington, youngest daughter of Col. John Augustine Washington, and niece to his excellency General Washington; Mr. Richard Brewer, to Miss Ann Blackwell of Maryland.

NORTH-CAROLINA.—*At Edenton*, David Witherpoon, Esq. attorney at law, to Mrs. Mary Nash, widow of the late Governor Nash, deceased.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.—*At Charleston*, Mr. Philip Hillegar, to Miss Sarah Mann.

DEATHS.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.—*At Portsmouth*, Capt. Samuel Dalling; Mrs. Lydia Morris.

MASSACHUSETTS.—*At Boston*, Mr. Benjamin Adams; Miss Polly Black; Mr. David Watson; Mrs. Ann Crane; Mrs. Jerima White.—*At Halifax*, Mr. Benjamin Kent, formerly a barrister at law in this state.—*At Cambridge*, William Kneeland, Esq.—*At Dunstable*, John Winflow, Esq. aged 89.—*At Salem*, Miss Elizabeth Wood.—*At New-London*, suddenly, Prosper Wetmore, Esq.

CONNECTICUT.—*At Willington*, Mr. Jonathan Tuttle, in the 94th year of his age. He survived the wife of his youth only seven months; who, at the time of her death, was far advanced in her 93d year.

NEW-YORK.—*At New-York*, Mr. Moses Gall.

PENNSYLVANIA.—*At Philadelphia*, James Potts, Esq. attorney at law, of Potts-Grove, Montgomery county; Robert E. Pine, Esq. an eminent historical and portrait painter.

MARYLAND.—*At Queen's Ann's, Patuxent River*, Singleton Wootton, Esq. *At her seat near Lower-Marlborough*, Mrs. Rebecca Arnold, aged 77.

VIRGINIA.—*At Richmond*, Mrs. Hunter, wife of Mr. Miles Hunter of Petersburg; Mrs. Lettice Ball of Lancaster county; Mr. Gabriel Galt; Dr. Alexander Skinner.—

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